

IDF begins Hebron redeployment

Knesset OKs Hebron pact

By LIAT COLLINS

After a 12-hour dehate, the Knesset yesterday endorsed the Hebron agreement by 87 to 17, with one abstention. Moledet decided against filing a no-confidence motion and late last night a roll-call vote was held only on the agreement itself, including the accompanying documents,

Two votes on the faction statements by Moledet and the National Religious Party, which both opposed the agreement, failed by a large majority. Those who voted against the

ministers Zevulun

agreement included: the NRP Winter MKs 🚽 Hammer and Yitzhak Levy, and MK Avraham Stern, absented themselves; Moleder, Likud's weather Ze'ev Begin, Haim Dayan, Uzi Landan, Moshe Peled, Michael Kleiner, David Re'em and Ruby HILMON Rivlin: and Yisrael Ba'aliya MKs Michael Nudelman and Yuri Stem. Halpert abstained. National filers' fas

tioning ceres

Sharon was absented Communications

Who will replace Begin? Page 2

losophy are completely different,' he declared. "We do not want to take the Jewish settlement out of Hebron. We want to preserve and consolidate it. We don't want to cut ourselves off from Hebron; we want to stay in Hebron."

Netanyahu added that the negotiations on the agreement had ensured the inclusion of clauses to make this possible.

"The agreement today is, of course, much broader and much more detailed We ensured buffer zones; we made sure to distance the guns; we ensured IDF presence in the [billtops]. above the Jewish settlement and via joint patrols on the [main] routes.

He called the Hebron Jewish residents "our brothers and sis-United Torah Judaism's Shmuel "ters" and stressed the importance of the City of the Forefathers as Infrastructure Minister Ariel "the rock of our existence." "I can state with confidence, Ant a doubt, that this is a bet-



By ARIEN O'SULLIVAN

Hundreds of Palestinians, some shouting "Hebron is ours!" cheered as army trucks ladened with equipment rumbled, horns blaring, out of the IDF military headquarters, as Israel began the loog-delayed redeployment in

Hebron. Col. Jibril Rajouh, head of the Palestinian Preventive Security Service, arrived at the military headquarters late last night. Palestinian security men had worked for several hours before his return to keep local residents away from the building. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu announced at a press conference last night that the redeploymeot would be completed by this afternoon, before Shabbat. Some 40 Jews marched to Yisbai's Tomb to recite psalms and hold a prayer vigil. The army later declared all areas to be handed over to the Palestinians a closed military zone, banning entry by Israeli civilians.

At the Palestinian Child Arts Center, some 200 Palestinian policemen crowded into a small hall to don their new navy-hlue uniforms. They stood in front of mirrors, adjusting their berets and flattening their creases, waiting

for the orders to move. Outside, a plainclothes officer from Rajoub's Preventive Security handed out dozens German-made MP-5 submachine guns to security men. OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan said that while permission had been granted to remove equipment from the bases to be handed over to the Palestinians, the soldiers were to remain until the order was given to vacate them.

Stormy PA Council meeting. Page 3

Row over letters of assurance, Page 20

Ideological Front, ranged from orders for house arrest to forbidding travel to Hebron.

Word of the impending orders was leaked out beforehand, and many of those for whom the orders were intended were not at home, when the police came to deliver them. Among those to have received an order was Baruch Marzel, who left home before the police arrived.

Marzel, talking from a hiding place "somewhere near Hehron, said that the orders are unnecessary, since he knows of no plans to try and disrupt the Hehron redeployment or provoke the Palestinians. Marzel said the orders were just a way for the GSS to "cover themselves" in case

there is an incident in the city. Marzel said that when the police came to his home in Tel Rumeida to deliver the order, his wife tore is

Dayan and Maj. Gen. Gabi Ophir, commander of IDF forces in Judea and Samaria, met late last night in Hebron's new District Coordinating Office to discuss the transfer of 80 percent of the city to the Palestinians. The IDF commanders reportedly asked the Palestinians to order their forces to refrain from celebrating hy firing their guns into the air and burning the Israeli flag. Dayan said the list of the 400 Palestinian policemen who are to take up positions in the city was giveo to the IDF and that each policeman had passed a security check.

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Yuli Edelstein supported the agreement in the Knesset, although they voted against it in and the second the cabinet Wednesday night. . :: In his concluding statement, 1.1.1 1.1.4 Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said he believes the 4 115-52 . :1 decision will be seen as the right . ---one in the current reality and that he hopes to see future peace agreements with the Palestinians and with Arab states.

The special session opened at 11 a.m. with a statement by the prime minister, attended by President Ezer Weizman, whose presence emphasized the fact that a fateful debate was taking place.

Netanyahu stressed the idea of the "different goals" of his government compared to its Labor predecessor.

"We're committed to the written agreements; we are not bound by the spoken word [of the previous government.] Our goals and phi-

ter, safer, more responsible agree-Limor Livnat, Agriculture and Environment Minister Rafael ment than the one we received [from Labor]," he said. Netanyahu said Israel had insist-Eitan, and Absorption Minister

ed on three principles during the negotiations on Hebron: reciprocity; that Israel would be the sole determiner of the further redeployments: and that the time frame allow room for maneuvering.

We're using the space we have in this agreement to attain our goals: to preserve the unity of Jerusalem; to ensure the security areas necessary to protect the state; to stand firm on the right of Jews to settle in their land and offer the Palestinians reasonable arrangements of self-rule without the sovereign rights that could endanger the State of Israel."

The prime minister was frequently heckled, noticeably by MK Eli Goldschmidt (Labor).

"You're a big boy. Stop blaming your parents," Goldschmidt said when the premier started to talk of the poor inheritance Labor had left the new government.

By RAINE MARCUS

And an almost comical interlude tion leader on the Oslo Accords, occurred when MK Dalia Itzik (Labor), busy distributing copies counter.

Golda Meir combined," he said. **Continued on Page 2**

REGULAR AND PRIVATE TOURS

That was expected to come following the Knesset approval of the Hebron agreement. It was not elear last night whether the soldiers would begin pulling out during night.

The moment we get the order we will try to carry out the redeploymeot as quickly and as properly as possible and transfer to the Palestinians the places which the IDF is to vacate," Dayan said.

The IDF late last night issued nearly a dozen administrative orders against right-wing activists in Kiryat Arba and Hebron.

The orders, according to Itamar Beo-Gvir, one of the heads of Kach's successor organization, the

REGULAR TOURS, HOTELS,

Earlier in the day, joint Israeli-Palestinian patrols held dry runs in the city, senior security sources said.

Hebron has been under heavy IDF guard lately and military sources said patrols were increased 10 prevent any attempts by extremists on either side from disrupong the redeployment.

At the military headquarters, soldiers loaded trucks with cement blocks, desks, and gas balloons, and dismantled watchlowers and even the front gate to prepare for

Continued on Page 2

Soldiers attach the book of a crane to a guardpost in Hebron yesterday, preparing to lift it onto a truck and move it out of the city as part of the IDF pullback.

of Netanyahu's speech as opposi-Massive search for

"Dalia Itzik is Indira Gandhi and started to beckle him from the floor, causing Netanyahu to

New 'Post' appointments

Kahalani.

E David Radler, president and CEO of Hollinger International and chairman of the board of The Jerusalem Post, announced the appointment today of Yehuda Levy as vice chairman-Jerusalem Post. Radler also announced the appointment of Norman Spector as president and publisher of The Jerusalem Post, reporting to the chairman. Both appointments take effect May 1. Full report, Page 5





beige sweater, and slippers. Anyone who thinks they may have When she failed to return, it was reported to police, who, together seen her is asked to call the nearwith volunteers, launched a search est police station.

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HEBRON AGREEMENT

Silvan Shalom likely to assume Begin's science portfolio

By SARAH HONIG

Science Minister Ze'ev Begin's resignation will take effect at midday Saturday, with Silvan Shalom being touted as most likely to assume the portfolio.

Shalom, along with Tzahi Hanegbi and Limor Livnat, was one of the first to support Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's quest for the Likud leadership. Shalom refused to comment on the matter yesterday. Meanwhile, MK Michael

Eitan, who is eager to win the appointment, noted his own high placing in the Likud primaries, while MK Shaul Amor warned that "the government will face dire consequences if 1 am not appointed."

Just before | p.m. yesterday, Begin dispatched a one-line letter that said: "I hereby tender my resignation from the government."

Begin demonstratively took his seat among the Knesset backbenebers during yesterday's debate on the Hebron agreement, even though a minister's resignaoon does not take effect until 48 hours after his or her resignation letter is submitted.

Though other ministers who voted against the agreement Wednesday night said they would remain in the government, Begin said that he could oot.

"I respect them for their decisioo but I personally think otherwise and more importantly I feel otherwise," Begin said. "Collective responsibility would oblige me to support the government's decision and I cannot do so. I said that wheo I cannot serve in full faith 1 will step down and now the time has come.

Begin said he is not discochanted with Netanyahu, for whom he campaigned.

minister encountered upon taking



"I don't feel 1 made a mistake in ... Ze'ov Begin addresses the Knesset yesterday, telling why he light of the difficulties the prime . opposes the Hebron agreement. (Issac Hanan)

"But this is not personal. It is a difference of opinion.

"The greatest danger is inherent in the original Oslo Accords. We will hand over more and more slices of our bomeland to terrorists who will make them havens for terror and we will make the situation far more difficult for ourselves when all this will blow up. The explosion will indeed come, unless we utterly capitulate."

He noted that just as he had been right in the case of the failed appointment of Roni Bar-On as. attorney-general - he was the only minister to vote against the appointment - so the other ministers "will come to understand the reality of the agreement they have now approved and if they don't understand, Arafat will explain it to them."

Finance Minister Dan Meridor, Begin's closest ally in the government, expressed regret over Begin's resignation. He said he had "known in

advance what Benny planned to do and all my attempts to dissuade him were in vain. I agree with Begin about the dangers inherent in the Oslo process but they are a fait accompli and we must now make the best of a bad situation. Without Benny this government will be different and none the better in quality, because Benny is a rare breed."

Netanyahu's oext toughest critic inside the government's Likud contingent might now be Livnat, despite ber decisioo to support the Hebroo deal in the Knesset

Like Begin, she also said she does oot regret supporting Netanyabu in the elections.

"I would wholeheartedly do it. again despite the disagreement now," she said. "Netanyahu is indeed better for the Jews than. [Shimon] Peres or now [Ehud] Barak. The trouble is with the disaster of the original Oslo Accords."

Likud members attack PM

wording to Israel and the

Uzi Landau, chairman of the

Knesset Foreign Affairs and

Defense Committee, said the gov-

ernment was talking about reciprocity but not taking action even

rainst 19

In favor: 95

Against 18 Abstentions 2

In favor: 6L

negotistions.

tentions, 17. ~~

Egyptian Peace frea March 21, 1979

Oslo I. September 24, 199

to consider the alternative: a gov-

emment led by Shimon Peres han-

dling the talks on the permanent

Other factions also held meet-

ings yesterday, the National Religious Party decided their min-

isters would be absent for the vote

and the MKs would vote against.

The NRP will reconsider its part-

nership in the coalition every three

months according to the govern-

ments actions promoting settle-

ment in Judea, Samaria and Gaza

Tsomet leader Raphael Eitan

and construction in Jerusalem.

Palestinians.

Jerusalem.

By LIAT COLLINS

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu gave Likud-Gesher-Tsomet MKs freedom to vote according to their consciences and not party lines on the Hebron agreement yesterday, but told the faction that the important thing is for the whole party to present a united front after the vote and before the negotiations on the permanent arrangements.

He did not rule out the possibility of the Palestinians raising prob-lems over the interpretation of the further redeployments. He also elarified that "mid-1998," does not refer to a specific date but to a period including June, July and August. He said this appears in an accompanying letter which US chief negotiator Dennis Ross wrote to Cabinet Secretary Damy Naveh. The Likud faction meeting, most

of which was open to the press, ranged in tone from congratulato-- at the entrance of Foreign Minister David Levy whose son got married on Wednesday - to bitter, when the MKs got down to business

MK Michael Kleiner was the first to attack the premier saying. 'My feeling is the only thing we have managed to achieve is an 11month delay." MK Ruby Rivlin asked whether

the process could lead to any outcome other than a Palestinian state and Deputy Education Minister Moshe Peled frequently interrupted faction chairman Michael Eitan and the prime minister.

Netanyahu assured Rivlin that Israel would not "sit on its hands" if the Palestinians declare a state. Ze'ev Binyamin Begin, having submitted his resignation from the post of science minister, sat quietty at the back of the room. Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and Eitan both called on him to reconsider his resignation. Communications Minister

Limor Livnat, who voted against the agreement in the cabinet on Wednesday, asked Netanyahu what was written in the letter the US secretary of state sent to Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat, The prime minister

Morocco praises accord

By DAVID RUDGE and news agencies 'O ' ' ' take the 'remaining step's feating to the realization of the aspirations for which they have fought.' Mcanwhile, Lebanese leaders expressed concern

Morocco's King Hassan told Prime Minister Biayanin Netanyahu yesterday he hopes the Hebron over the Hebron accord yesterday, saying Israel agreement will lead to a just and durable peace in the might put political and military pressure on Lebanon Middle East. An Israeli official said this was the first direct contact the king had made with Netanyahu since he was elected prime minister last May.

The Moroccan News Agency issued an open mes-

told his faction that he would vote said the US had told him it sent in favor because "the moment the similar letters in content and

Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

Knesset votes on

previous peace.

majority has decided, the minority has two options to respect the decision of the majority or to leave the government." He said if the government had to depend oo Labor's vote, the government would be forced to follow a leftist policy.

against Palestinian violations in It was Netanyahu's former rival Levy who came to the prime min-

Labor also met several times although leader Shimon Peres did not break off a visit to the US for



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to try and reach security arrangements over the south, now that its attention is no longer centered on the Hebroo issue.

for Yitzhak Rabin.

MK Yossi Beilin, a candidate for

the party leadership, said the fac-

tion should vote for the agreement. "We owe it to our voters."

But he warned of the possible

problems if the US becomes the

only interpreter of the agreement. MK Ephraim Oshaya disagreed,

saying a vote in favor of the agree-

ment would only promote the

Netanyahu government for another four years. He described the

prime minister as "a swindler."

President Elias Hrawi was quoted in Beirut news-

To the Prime Minister of Israel, An entire generation Congratulates you!

All of us today make up peace generation: The religious, the secular, the new immigrant, the native, the working man, the spiritual, the young and the old. We are a complete generation, A generation that acknowledge its past, but knows that without the future it is not worth much. A generation that knows the importace of its forefather's graves, but not at the price of its children's graves. A generation whose study of the Torah taught us to seek life. Ageneration that believes in unity of the nation before unity of the land. We will not be moved - not by extremists from one direction, or the other. We are a generation that is fighting for this country. We are a generation that is continuing Rabin's path. We are a generation that believes in the Oslo agreement. We are a generation that sees peace as the only option for true security. We are a generation with a great deal of hope that calls out to you today to continue in the road to peace.



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sage last night to the prime minister in the oame of the monarch: "It is with real satisfaction that we received the news of the agreement, which took place between yourself and President Yasser Arafat...We are pleased and advanced by the understanding which this agreement will promote and we wish that the future - relieved of the past - will finally open serious prospects for a just and durable peace

Hassan told Arafat in a separate message he hopes the accord would open the way for Palestinians to

20; and in 3 or 5 NIS 10.

something new.

Yitzhak Rabin.

KNESSET

Continued from Page 1

"She always has something to

say.... Every time she chirps

MK Ehud Barak, a candidate

for the Labor Party leadership,

responded to the premier for the

opposition. The focus of his

response was on the legacy of assassinated prime minister

"From today, you are leading the Oslo Accords in deeds and not

just words. For this you deserve

and have our praise. Moreover,

Winning cards and numbers

IN yesterday's daily Chance drawing, the winning cards were the jack of spades, the jack of hearts, the ace of diamonds and the 10 of clubs. In last night's weekly Payis Hazak drawing, the holder of ticket num-ber 087555 won NIS 1 million, while ticket 156740 was good for a new

car. Those holding tickets ending in 065366, 603655, 284405, 127668, 487975, 131519, 166337 and 393437 all won NIS 5,000. Tickets ending in 73623, 17026, 48119, 10151, 77214, 26366, 84886, 93696, 00373, in 73623, 17026, 48119, 10151, 77214, 26366, 84886, 93696, 00373, 31245, 91183, 56093, 96257, 69551, 26450, 98768, 01592, 07936 and 74258 all were good for NIS 1,000. Those ending in 683, 815, 725 and 985 were good for NIS 100; in 26, 85, 90 or 51, NIS 30; in 63 or 80, NIS

will be accompanied by our bless-ing and support," Barak said.

Today is also a day of victory: victory of the peace camp; victory of the way of the Labor movement; victory for the foundations laid by Shimon Peres; and victory for the legacy of Yitzhak Rabin, may he rest in peace, the man whose vision, courage and integrity moved the wheels of the peace process, the beginning of the process of separation from the Palestinian people, and our focussing on Galilee, the Negev, and the [underprivileged] neighborhoods

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid also placed the emphasis in his speech on Rabin, calling on Netanyahu to sign the agreement with the slain

papers as calling on security forces to "keep your eyes open in case of acts of sabotage like those Lebanoo and Damascus." Similar comments were made by Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and Foreign Minister Faris Bouwez. "Israel might now feel comfortable enough to put pressure oo Syria andi. Lebanon," Bouwez was quoted as saying.

Senior Hizbullah sources criticized the Palestinians for signing the Hebron accord, which they said had "buried the dreams of an independent Palestine." David Makovsky contributed to this report.

> IDF **Continued from Page 1**

the withdrawal. The British-era fortress was a bustle of activity last night as women soldiers piled onto armored Safari transports, like those used in Lebanon, for their final ride out.

At the Zehahit Junction, soldiers stood guard as a crane removed an army observatioo tower from atop a roof overlooking the intersection.

During the day, heavy rains and thick fog kept most people indoors. In the casban, a few merchants huddled around a fire in a barrel, stoking it with wood as they watched soldiers patrol.

But by nightinil, the rain slackened and many Arab residents took to the street and headed to mosques for prayers after breaking the Ramadan fast. Anticipation among many Palesminis turned to joy as they saw tincks pulling out of the mil-"Yalal 'yala!" shouted

young boys. Others waved large photos of Yasser Arafat and cars honked their borns as stone-faced soldiers stood, their weapons poised, in vehicles heading for their new quarters.

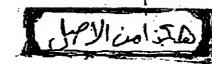
"Of course I will celebrate, but the happiness won't be complete until the Israelis evacuate all of the "city," said Mohammed Mayalleh, a 35-year-old tent merchant.

Herb Keinon and Itim con-



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every additional step you take courageously, responsibly, and with integrity in this direction, premier's pen, "because you are signing with his spilled blood." **RAMAT BEIT SHEMESH** 3 rooms + garden + large balcony \$120,500 4 room duplex \$135,000 4 rooms + storeroom + shelter + 35 sq.m. balcony \$153,000 * Govt. grant of \$15,000 to those eligible!

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Palestinian police examine their new uniforms at their headquarters south of Hebron yesterday.

BACKGROUND

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The Jerusalem Post Friday, January 17, 1997

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Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natshe denies this gives Israel a carte With attention focused on settler blanche on construction. While security in Hebron, little notice there can be discussions, "No Israeli building can take place has been given to the civilian without municipal permission because the division of the city arrangements, which are vasily more detailed in the new protocol into H-I and H-2 does not divide than they had been in the Oslo 2.

Hebron faces

mean that Israel is responsible for more potential points of conflict ensuring that the settlers cooperate and misunderstanding; now that with the municipality.

Other articles make the government the settlers' guarantor. For example, to ensure that settlers protocol says that the height of receive prompt service from the new Arab buildings 50 meters and municipality when their water

the city's municipal authority." "Responsibility" is thus taken to

100 meters, from Jewish, homes, pipes burst, the PA is obliged to fizer. must be limited to two and fifter milities serving Israeli dwellings somes respectively, it says noth "as a top priority" if the govern



PA councilors decry lack of debate

HEBRON AGREEMENT

By JON IMMANUEL

While the Knesset was furiously debating the Hebron protocol yesterday morning, members of the Palestinian Authority Legislative Council were furiously demanding to know why no representative of the PA's executive had come to Ramaliah to address them.

Several members walked out of the meeting in protest before Saeb Erekat, the chief PA negotiator and a member of the council, hurried over to give them copies of the protocol in English. There was no official Arabic translation for those who did not understand English.

The Oslo Accords give the 88member council no jurisdiction to approve or disapprove agreemeots between Israel and the PA, but some of the councilors said that, since they are the elected representatives of the people, they should be treated with the respect the people deserve.

It is more than lack of commu-

been informed, but it was not. The council ought to know what takes place," said Ziad Abu Amr, a Gaza independent who walked out first, followed by Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi and others.

A recent poll of the Palestinian Center for Research and Studies self (40%) all got better marks.

An earlier vote in Gaza by the members of the cabinet, council, and PLO executive - was coosidered representative enough. the democratic opposition despite being the agriculture minister, was one of the few who did

nication. The council should have

asked 1,307 Palestinians whether they had any contact with their representatives directly, by mail, or by telephone, and 91.5 percent said no. Only 10.7% evaluated the councilors' performance as "very good." The PA executive (19%), the police (28%), and Arafat him-

Palestinian leadership - abour 50 Council member Abdel-Jawad Salah, who considers himself in

oppose it in Gaza on Wednesday. He told the Voice of Palestine

yesterday, "Hebron was partitioned, the Israelis are in charge of civilian and administrative affairs [in H-2]. There is recognition that the Ibrahimye Mosque [Tomb of the Patriarchs] is Jewish."

Hebron was not the only issue on which the council felt bypassed. The PA, yet to allow the council to ratify a constitution, apologized for a third time for not submitting its budget as required under the unratified constitution.

Salah Taamari, another popular democratic opposition member, suggested a vote of no-confidence in the finance minister. Nobody knows if it passed and nobody thought it mattered if it did.

Some of those most opposed to the Hebron agreement precisely because it was imposed by superior force see Israel as a shining light in the more important matter of democratic procedures.

"People are impressed by Israeli democracy, especially when it comes to transparency and accountability," Abu Amr said.

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ing about the height of Jewish e a contra buildings. ge entre in the time of "The civil administratioo can

18 A. A. authorize 20 stories added to Beit Hadassah if it wants," said Shlomo Dror, spokesman for outgoing government coordinator in . $(x,y) \in \{x,y\}$ the territories Maj.-Gen. Oren

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Shabor The relevant clause says that ¥. "civil powers and responsibilities ... relating to Israelis and their property shall continue to be exer-cised by the Israeli military gov-

By JON IMMANUEL

things have been written down,

they are subject to different inter-

pretations. For example, while the

ment offers to pay for the work. To ensure that the PA does not lunge settlers into darkness, the PA must give the Israeli District Lizison Office 48 hours' notice of any plans which would affect israelis' daily lives, like cutting electricity and water or blocking

roads for maintenance. Cutting off the settlers' utilities as an act of intimidation is considcred unlikely, as Israel could retaiiate by cutting off power and telephone communications to the Gaza Strip.

Clinton thanks King Hussein, Mubarak for help on Hebron

IDF Continued tot?

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US President Bill Clinton yesterday thanked Jordan's King Hussein and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for their support for the agreement between Israel. and the Palestinians on Hebron. National Security Adviser-designate Samuel Berger told network radio reporters that Clinton

made morning phone calls to the

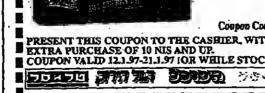
By HILLEL KUTTLER and news agencies

two leaders thanking them for their roles.

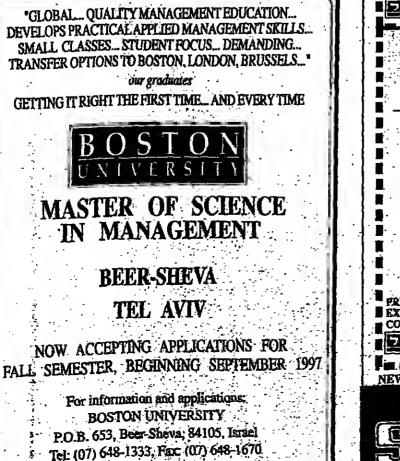
Berger said the Hebron deal would not have been possible without Hussein's intervention and Mubarak's support. Hussein, kept talks between Israel and the Palestinians from collapsing last weekend with a compromise proposal.

Mubarak also had a telephone conversation with Syrian President Hafez Assad yesterday.

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HEBRON AGREEMENT

Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

Sons of Abraham

By JON IMMANUEL

"What explosions of eloquence would have followed upon the partition plan that left Israel without Hebron," wrote historian Barbara Tuchman, referring to the British Parliament in 1850.

Unfortunately, when infuendal Englishmen supported the emergence of a Jewish homeland of the kind that Gush Emunim would like, they couldn't find enough Jews to support them.

The Balfour Declaraoon of 1917 represented the tail end of this British Zionist movement and, soon afterwards, perfidious Albion lopped Hebron off the planned Jewish homeland.

If the Six Day War seemed to change that destiny, it was, like the French aircraft that won it, a mirage. What might have been could not return. In 1850, there were 600 Jews among 5,000 Arabs in Hebron. In 1895, Jews were 1,400 among 14,000, hut hy 1936 there were no Jews in Hebron.

if local Jews

might just fit

into the city.

Few Jews went to live there under the influence of modern Zionism. The city of

Abraham, second in sanctity Jerusalem. to was the only one of the four hallowed Jewish towns in the

Land of Israel which did not come under Israeli rule at all in 1948.

But the Arabs, in effect, had already won it. Wheo Israel conquered Hebron in 1967, it counted 38,309 Arah residents. Today there are more than 100,000, not including those living in the hurgeoning suhurbs.

Under Israeli rule, the desire to restore Hehron as a place of Jewish religious pilgrimage was natural. The Labor government hlessed it, while ensuring that Jews lived in Kiryat Arba, to balance religious yearnings with political and demographic reality. But the desire to live inside Hehron was strong, compounded by memories of the massacre of 1929, and the Arab uprising of 1936 which cocouraged the Britisb to end the Jewisb presence there.

The Sahbath massacre in the Hebrew year of Tarpat provided a valuable lesson to Zionism. The 450 Jewish residents of Hebron in 1929 were oot armed. Nor were they Zionists, and they turned down armed help from the Hagana, preferring to rely on their borly relations with the Arabs. The slaughter of 67 men, women and children prefigured the gullihility of Jews in Europe, who did not understand the forces OWD of hatred around them in the decade that followed Tarpat. If the Holocaust influences the meotality of even the most liberal Isracli, Hebron Jews have pickled themselves in it. Haj Amin

who instigated the Hebron massacre in 1929, was a collaborator in the Nazi final solution by 1942. It took another Sabbath massacre, this time of six settlers in

1980 who were armed hut still belpless, to encourage the Likud government to allow settlers to move into Hebron, finally locking their religious and political ambitions in place.

Settler relations with Arabs in Hebron are imbued with deep distrust and contempt. Nowhere is this more evident than among the children. In Tel Rumeida, they live inches from each other, but it is obvious who is the more indoctrinated against the other. It is always the Jewish child who rebuffs the Arab child that wants to play.

Although the enclave where Jews will continue to live is larger than the Jewish quarter in 1929 and will have a heavier IDF presence than it has now, what really worries them is that the government is handing over political supremacy in the

city. In their own eyes. Hebron's become politi-Jews remain the last real Zionists, cal equals, they the spearhead of Zionism's political claim over the cotire Land of Israel, which, once compromised. means

that all Israel is weakened. Hebron in 1968 was the spiritual and physical mother of the settlements. From it, they derive their legitima-

Hebron's Jewish roots are deeper than Jerusalem's. "It is the world's oldest Jewish community," says Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu. This is true, but it was not a continuous community and in every other way the Jews there have only a toenail grip on the town compared with Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the ancient capital; its Jewish history is well documented; its holy places are separate from Moslem holy places. Jews have been a majority in Jerusalem since the late 19th century, and it is oot legally part of the West Bank

The Jews in Hebron followed the fate of the Jews in Jerusalem. By the third cectury, they were gooe. Those who came to live there again in the 16th century found it thoroughly Islamicized. To this day it is the most Islamic of all Palestinian towns.

Before oationalistic conflict the Ibrahimi Mosque, is bitterly fought over by Jews and Moslems, stirred Jews and Arabs, many Jews there did oot seek to compete with and no way bas been found to Islam. They went to be oear the demarcate what is boly to Jews cave only to find that the Moslems from what is boly to Moslems. had approriated Abraham as their The tomb/mosque controversy would be explosive enough even if "Abraham was not a Jew the claim was limited to that buildbecause Indaism only began when Moses received the Torah at ing. But it is only a starting point and the most radical settlers insist Mount Sinai," Moslems say. that Hehron itself is inherently hard. "Abraham was a pure monotheist Jewisb and that their religious who did not know Torah. Since rights must also mean political mastery. They describe Arahs who have lived in Hebron for centuries as usurpers, house-minders or babysitters of the tomb/mosque and of Hebron as a whole. They would have found a sympathetic voice among many British parliameotarians 130 years 14/1/97 ago, brought up on an Old Testament-oriented Christianity. their view of Islam informed by their abhorrence of the Ottoman Empire. Even if Zionism were viewed favorably by Hebron Arabs, they would still resent the overweening self-righteousness among settlers they see in Hebron. Some say they could live with them if they put down their arms and acted "like the Jews who used to live here, or like the Jews of Tel Aviv, like normal people." But if they were like Tel Aviv Jews, they would not live there and trusting their neighbors is precisely what the settlers believe killed off Hehron's previous



A Jew passes Arab men on the steps of the Cave of Machpela in the days before entrance was segregated. This photo was taken in 1980.

They may be right to be suspi-

Islam has always been the true Jewish community.

moootheist religion which Mohammed simply brought to the Arabs, Ahraham was in fact a Moslem, as was Adam as well." This view adds to the conflict a religious intensity that is oot preseot even in Jerusalem.

Holy places in Jerusalem are well demarcated thanks to the ... Western Wall which draws all but the most extreme Jews away from the Temple Mount itself on which Moslems planted two mosques. But in Hehron, the Tomb of the Patriarchs, which Palestinians call

cious. Few Hehron Arabs want them and fewer consider it reasonable that the IDF remain in control of 20% of the city just because 400 Jews choose to live there and oot one kilometer up the road among 6,000 other Jews in Kiryat Arba The oumber of Hebron Arabs

remaining under IDF control is almost as many as the 25,000 who live in Kalkilya, which Israel coosidered sufficently well-populated by Arahs to warrant turning over completely to the Palestinian

Authority.

treading oo it when he is walking." He was ignored, but Moslems did ban oon-Moslems from advancing beyond the seventh step up to the building.

If the aim of Israel in 1967 was to show Moslems that the era of Saladin was at an end, opening the cave to Jewish prayer services was a potent jibe of the kind it resisted ... in Jerusalem, where it was more self-confident of its rights.

The Tomb of the Patriarchs became a battlefield. In 1968, Moslems ripped and burned Torah scrolls and lobbed grenades at Jewish worshippers. Relations deteriorated to the point where a

Jerusalem's elder sister

By HERB KEINON

When Moshe Levinger and a group of activists funded by the Land of Israel Movement moved into Hebron's Park Hotel on April 4, 1968, less then a year after Hebron was conquered without a fight in the Six Day War, they Hebron, even after the fall of the were staking

claims to a city with roots deeper in Jewish hisresting place of tory than any other. the patriarchs, They also moved into the and also heart of a hostile city populated at the time by nearly 40,000 Arabs. Avner Ben-Ner, It is a mix that never worked. Hebron, Al Khalil. The City

Patriarchs. It is a city which, according to official estimates, has 120,000 Arabs and 500 Jews. Kiryat Arba, which is right next to Hebron, has another 6,000 Jews, and some of their homes look onto homes in Hebron.

This area is as rich in Biblical imagery as can be found anywhere. Hebron is sometimes lyrically referred to as a "Mirror of Jerusalem" or as "Jerusalem's Elder Sister," terms reflecting the historic and physical parallels between the two cities that are some 30 minutes' drive apart.

Hehron is first mentioned in Genesis 23:2. "And Sarah died in Kiryat Arba, that is Hebron, in the Land of Canaan; and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her." The chapter then goes on to retell how Abraham bought the Machpela Cave from Efron the Hittite for a family tomh.

The Bible records that the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacoh are buried in the tomb, as are the Matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca and Leah. Jewish tradition has it that Adam and Eve are buried there as well.

In addition to its link with the Patriarchs, Hebron, is where King, David began his kingdom.

"David was 30 years old when he began to reign, and he reigned outside the eastern wall. 40 years," it says in the Book of Samuel II (5:4-5). "In Hebron he reigned over Judea seven years and six months: and in Jerusalem he reigned 33 years over all Israel and Judea." Hebroo is one of Sephardim bought the site of what is today the Avraham Avinu Synagogue. Throughout the Ottoman period. despite poverty and a devastating plague in 1619, the Hebroo Jewish community prospered, with Jews coming from around the country and the world. The city became a rabbinic center of note, and some of the most important kabbalists from Safed moved there at the end of the 16th century. In 1807, the community purchased a five-dunam plot, upon which the wholesale market stands today. In 1811, 800 dunams of land were acquired to expand the cometery. By 1838, there were Trends + 1 some 700 Jews in the city, despite a pogrom in 1834; the number reached 1,500 at the end of the century. An important contribution to the city was made by Habad hassidim, many of whom came to the city at the urging of their spir-itual leader, the Mitler Rebbe, in the early part of the century. In 1870, a wealthy Turkish Jew, Haim Yisrael Romano, moved to Hebron and bought a plot of land upon which his family built their home and a guest house. That structure, Beit Romano, today houses the Shavei Hevron Yeshiva The Bailting housed a synagogue and yeshiva, before

Kenaz, the first judge; the tomb of Avner Ben-Ner, general and confidant to Saul and David; and the tombs of Ruth and Jesse, David's great-grandmother and father. The ancient cemetery also houses the graves of a number of prominent rabbis.

Jews continued living in First Temple. present The structure encom-**Hebron** is the

passing the Machpela Cave the was built by Herod, and it's stonework is strikingly similar to that of another Herodian strucnue: the Western During the revolt against the

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orde

heavy fighting, but Jews continued to live there after the revolt, through the Bar-Kochba revolt and into the Byzantine period. After Arabs conquered the city in 638, they converted the fifth-

century Byzantine church at the cave into a mosque. The new rulers were more tolerant toward the Jews than the Byzantines, whose harsh measures included forbidding the Jews to pray in the tomb.

· Like the Jews, Arab attachment to the city is also rooted in Abraham. The Arabic name for Hebron, Khalil al-Rahman, means "friend of Allah the Merciful," referring to Abraham, the father of Ishmael. The Arabs have lived in Hebron continuously for 13 centuries.

The Crusaders, when they captured Hebron in 1100, kicked the Jews out of the city and turned the mosque back into a church. The Jewish community was reestab-lished in 1260 following the Mameluke conquest, when the tomb was turned back into a mosque. The Mamelukes were less tolerant theo the previous Arab rulers. Their 1266 decree in-force-until 1967 - barred Jewsfrom containg sthe tombu and allowed them to climb only to. fifth, and later the seventh, step

The city was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, but this was marked hy a violent pogrom. The surviving Jews fled to Beirut, and did not return until 1533. In 1540,

David's general Wall. **Ruth and Jesse.** Romans, Hebron was the scene of



The likelihood of violence is great since the most violent elements on both sides have an interest in showing that the moderates near Isaac's Tomb. are wrong. Both sides will want to show that the other side started the violence, but both sides need little provocation to hit back twice as

The greatest test will be at the tomb/mosque. What divides Jews and Moslems there is also what they have in common. Abraham is a common ancestor. Neither Jews nor Moslems permit graven images in their houses of worship, which is why Jews can worship there.

In fact, the Tomh of the Patriarchs should be neither mosque nor synagogue. Hebron is a classic case of politics distorting religion. Neither Jews nor Moslems conduct regular prayer services in cemeteries. But the cave passed from Jewish to Christian to Moslem to Christian and back to Moslem control over nine centuries, and after Saladin's victory over the Crusaders in the late 12th ceotury, Islam went on a splurge of building which turned the tomh into a full-fledged mosque.

Some traditional Moslem clergy, such as 14th century North African sage, Ibo Haj el-Abdi, objected. The grave of El-Khalil (Abraham) may really be near the door and then it will turn out he is

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Jew could bring himself to gun down 29 kneeling Moslem worshippers praying during Ramadan

Continued on Page 20

Judaism's four sacred cities, the others being Jerusalem, Safed and Tiberias. In addition to the Tomb of the Patriarchs, Hebron also contains the following Jewish boly sites: The tomb of Otniel Ben

City of violence

Since the mid-1980s, there have been several violent incidents in the city. The worst include: • July 7, 1983 - Yeshiva student Aharon Gross was attacked and stabbed by three Arab youths near the market. He died of this wounds. July 25, 1983 – Jewish terrorists opened for at the Island, University, tilling these and wounding another 30.
October 25, 1992 – A soldier, was shot and killed while guant, ing the Machpela Cave's generator. Two others soldiers were seemeded.

wounded. May 28, 1993 -- Yeshiva student Barz Shumel was student in death some 500 meters from the Machaella Cave while on his way as there for Friay evening mayers.

there for Friay evening prayers. • December 12, 1993 - Mordechai and Shalom I and, a father to

and son, were shot to death by terrorists at the Zchuchit Innchion ?. • February 2, 1994 - Kiryat Arba resident Barach Goldstein killed 29 Moslem worshipers in the Machaela Cave, and would ed 125. d 125. - July 7, 1994 - Seventeen year old Saïl Prigat was about at

death in a chive-by killing near the enhance to Knyat Arba. • March 19, 1995 - Nahum Hoss, 31, of Historian Yelling Parus, 34, of Knyat Arba were killed when the bis they were killed ing in was ambushed near the Zehnchit Junction

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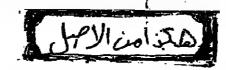
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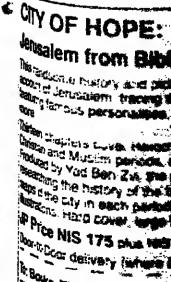
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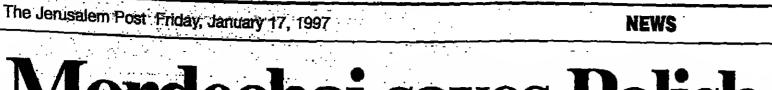
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m's Mordechai saves Polish deal

By STEVE RODAN

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai resolved a tiff last night that appeared to have jeopardized a potentially lucrative Polish military contract, when he resched-uled a meeting he had canceled hours earli-er with his visiting Polish counterpart. Polish Defense Minister Stanislaw.

Dobrzanski was upset last night when Mordechai, involved with the Knesset vote over the Hebron accord, canceled their meeting in Tel Aviv. Dobrzanski suggested that perhaps the Polish defense contract, estimated at \$600 million, was not important to Israeli politicians.

"From the technical point of view, I was able to see a lot of interesting things, both at ElOp and Elbit, as well as at an air force base," Dobrzanski said. "When we talk of political issues, unfortunately, my expectations were not met. Maybe that was connected with the events of the last few days and hours.

"This surprised and worried me," Dobrzanski said, pointing out the keen interest of Israeli defense firms in Polish military contracts. The Israeli politicians didn't devote as much time to my visit as I

expected." But hours after the cancelation, Mordechai rescheduled his meeting with

Dobrzanski for this morning in Jerusalem. where the Polish visitor will also meet with Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. From Jerusalem, Dobrzanski heads for Gaza.

"Everything has been resolved," a Polish defense official accompanying Dobrzanski said after the rescheduling of the meeting. Mordechai's spokesmar, Avi Benayahu,

said the defense minister used hard to keep his appointment yesterday, but in the end he was kept in Jerusalem by the Knesset vote as well as his supervision of the IDF pullout from Hebron.

The defense minister wanted very much to see him," Benayahu said. "But because of

his oght schedule at the Knesset and with the redeployment, he asked that [ministry director-general] Ilan Biran and [Mordechai's adviser] David Ivry meet with the Polish defense minister. Both Biran and Ivry are very senior officials." Dobrzanski said he examined Israel's defense modernizacion program, particularly that of air force equipment. A consortium of Israeli companies -Elbir, ElOp, and Rafael - is hidding to upgrade the Polish Huzar helicopter, manufactured hy WSK Swidnik of Lublin. The main compector for the upgrade's avionics is the US company Rockwell International Corp. Rafael does not have any competition for the air-to-surface missiles for the Huzar.



in brief

Famous haggada given to National Library

A 14th century German haggada, known as the Wolff Haggada, has finally come to rest at the National and Hebrew University Library.

Polish Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz presented the rare book to the library's chief librarian, Prof. Israel Schatzman, at Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon's office on Wednesday.

Inscribed on vellum and profusely illustrated, the haggada belonged to Berlin's Jewish community. Stolen on Kristallnacht in November 1938, it reappeared after the war in Warsaw's Jewish History Museum. In 1984 the haggada was stolen again. In 1989 two Jewish merchants tried to sell it at public auction

in Geneva, swearing that they had come hy their treasure honestly. The Polish government, the World Jewish Congress and the Berlin Jewish community sued to get the haggada back, agreeing that if they won the case, the Wolff Haggada would be brought to Israel. Three months ago the trial ended in victory. Helen Kaye

Hospital sanctions stopped after agreement

Sanctions at Wolfson, Assaf Harofe and Barzilai hospitals were called off suddenly yesterday afternoon after the Finance Ministry reached an agreement with the administrative and maintenance workers' union.

Labor peace returned when Yossi Cohen, the Treasury's deputy wage chief, finally signed an agreement adding employces to the existing list of those entitled to special duty pay.

The union, representing 9,000 government hospital workers, had been protesting the Finance Ministry's "broken promises," regarding the duty allowances, which had previously been approved by an interministerial committee. Although the Health Ministry confirmed that such a commitment had beeo made, the Finance Ministry remained mum throughout the dispute.

Judy Siegel

Immigrant doctors to remain at posts

More than 500 immigrant doctors, who had been threatened with dismissal at the end of this mooth, will be able to continue working until they complete their specialization, the Absorption Ministry spokesman said last night. At a meeting yesterday, the directors-general of the absorptioo, health and finance ministries allocated NIS 30 million - from the budgets of all three ministries - which will cover the doctors' pay until the end of their period of specialization.

The last of the 527 doctors will complete specialization at the end of 1999. Earlier, the Yisrael Ba'aliya faction had called oo the prime minister to dismiss Health Minister Yehoshua Matza unless a solutioo was found. Batsheva Tsur

MDA brings woman back from dead

Swiss bank stored Jewish

ZURICH (Renter) - The Union Bank of Switzerland, under fire for shredding Second World War documents, stored stolen paintings. for the Nazis and was suspected by the Allies of providing them with large amounts of Swiss francs, according to US government documents released yesterday.

by the World Jewish Congress, as a debate raged in Switzerland over whether the bank's shredding of documents from a subsidiary contained information about accounts held by Jews before and during the. war.

WJC charged that UBS, one of Switzerland's biggest banks, Gogh, Cezanne and Jan Steen, middleman working for agents of Hitler's henchman Hermann

Goering. The WJC also released documents sent from the secretary of state to the U.S. Embassy my Berne alleging that UBS. was scoold only to Credit Suisse in violating.

art loot

The documents were released

The documents released by the stored paintings stolen from prominent Jewish collectors, including masterworks by Van until they could be picked by a

the Allied "Code of Conduct" m: dealing with the Axis powers. The 1945 documents also said that the Union Bank violated-"the less rigid regulations" which the Swiss banking industry put into effect in September 1944. The documents cited a two-week peri-: od of intercepts as showing that UBS "provided the enemy" with SFr 603,205 Swiss Francs, about \$150,000 at the time. Meanwhile, American Jewish leaders due to meet top Swiss bankers today said they would stress that UBS's destruction of the Holocaust-era records was "intolerable," The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) also urged Swiss politi-cians and banks to treat a security guard who discovered the shredding as a hero for rescuing some documents and making the incident public. "I would have thought that from the highest levels of this country, one would have heard a voice of outrage [at the shredding]," ADL national director Abraham Foxman told a news conference yesterday after his group met Berne politicians, including Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti. "I don't hear the voices of outrage, I hear excuses, and I don't see the celebration of this security guard as a hero," he said.



Tribute to a failen leader

Meretz Party leader MK Yossi Sarid places a bouquet of flowers at the grave of slain prime minister Yitzhak Rabin before yesterday's Knesset vote on the Hebron agreement.

Histadrut aims to restart Haifa Chemicals talks

By DAVID RUDGE

A last-ditch effort is being made to restart the negotiations between management and work-ers in the long-running Haifa Chemicals dis-pute, amid reports the firm's owner, Arye Geoger, is considering closing the plant.

Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz called on the company to hold that alks until a Histadrut officials, however, described the compromise solution is reached to ensure the reports as part of the psychological war against future of the plant and the jobs of over 400 workers.

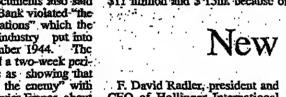
ly shut down production since last October. Genger, who lives in the US, is reportedly considering closing the plant - which manu-factures potassium ninate, used as a fertilizer and transferring production to competitors' factories in Chile, to assure that customers' orders can be filled.

the workers and the union in the negotiations

strike and earlier disruptions that have virtual- branch. Baruch Zaltz, announced that he was pulling out of the stalled negotiations.

Workers have criticized Zaltz for making too many concessions to management, even though the talks broke down over the Histadrut's refosal to accept management's demands to fire 30 "problematic" workers, in addition to 60 who have agreed to take early retiremeot.

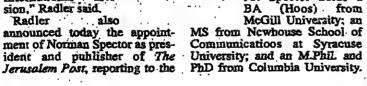
By last night, management had not responded to Peretz's call to resume negotiations. The



chairman. "Norman is uniquely suited to CEO of Hollinger Internatiooal and chairman of the board of The this post, given his distinguished Jerusalem Post, announced the career in public service, his strong academic training, and a appointment today of Ychuda first-hand knowledge and experi-ence in the region," Radler said. Levy as vice chairman-Jerusalem Post.

"As a result of the success we've achieved, and our interest in expanding our presence in Israel,

I am pleased to announce the promotioo of Yehada Levy to this new position. Mr. Levy will report directly to me to build on the solid franchise he has developed over the last eight years in this key Hollinger Yehuda Levy International divi-sion," Radler said. (David Branner)



over a new collective labor agreement. \$11 million and \$ 15m because of this latest the chairman of the Histadrut's Haifa district oo progress is made.

Histadrut plans to disrupt work at Haifa The company has reportedly lost between In another dramatic development vesterday, Chemicals' other factory south of Beersheba, if

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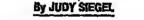
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Te book a lecture in English, call 02-563-4150 or 676-9308.



A 23-year-old woman being prepared for sinus surgery in a private hospital in Beersheba suddenly went into cardiac arrest vesterday, but was brought back to life by a Mageo David Adom team called into the operating room.

The young woman, who had been put under general anesthetic, suddeoly suffered an irregular heartbeat, her blood pressure fell, and she became clinically dead for "a reason that was not clear," according to MDA.

The surgeon and anesthesiologists in the operating room at the Maccabi health fuod's Ramat Marpeh day hospital immediately tried to resuscitate her with electric shocks to the heart and special drugs. The staff also called MDA,

latioo of 4,021,000. which is the standing order in such cases at such a facility. A MDA mobile intensive care team - Dr. Leonid Kaufman. paramedic Carmel Coheo, and driver/medic Danny Ben-Haroush

resuscitation effort. Using the same type of equipment available in Ramat Marpeh, they performed more electric' shocks, gave her adrenalio and atropine, and after 15 minutes, her-

heartbeat was restored. She was rushed to Soroka Hospital, where she was still unconscious and in serious hut stable coodition last night.

- arrived and took over the

A Ramat Marpeh spokesmansaid the woman, who was healthy? before the operation except for the sinus cooditioo, underweot a battery of tests before the surgery.

"It is well known that complications can occur, in rare cases, from anesthesia," she said. Cohen, who has been an MDA paramedic for eight years, said that being called into a hospital operating room and bringing a patient back to life after the hospital staff were unable to do so is . extremely rare.

"I had tears in my eyes, seeing this healthy young girl in such a condition. But I was glad that the resuscitation succeeded."

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later served as deputy

minister to the premicr of British Columbia.

In 1986 he joined the

federal government,

serving in varied

capacities incloding

Canadian ambassador

to Israel from 1992-

95. Spector holds a

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Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post OPINION THE JERUSALEM JEFF BARAK, Editor CARL SCHRAG, Managing Editor At Rabin's grave AMOTZ ASA-EL, Associate Editor, Business **NS** DAN IZENBERG, News Editor DAVID BRINN. Night Editor SAM ORBAUM. Features Editor ERRONNEN 97 THOMAS O'DWYER, Foreign Editor JUDY MONTAGU. Op-Ed Editor F. DAVID RADLER Chairman. Board of Directors AVI GOLAN, Executive Vice President, Marketing & Advertising PAUL STASZEWSKL CPA, Vice President, Finance YEHUDA LEVY, President & Publisher YOSSI HORN, Vice President, Production STANLEY SCHRIGER. Circulation Manager Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON BENZION MILLER. Tel Aviv Office Manager EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION The Jerusalem Post Building, P.O. Box 81, Romema, Jerusalem 91000 Telephone 02-531-5665, Fax 02-538-9527. CIRCULATION --- 02-531-5610. Fax 02-538-9017. ADVERTISING - 02-531-5608, 02-531-5637-40 Fax 02-538-8408. TEL AVIV: 5 Rehov Hamasger, POB 28398 (61283) Telephone 03-6390333, Fax 6390277. HAIFA 20 Nordau, Hadar Hacannel. Telephone 04-8623166, Published daily except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine Post Lid. Printed by The Jerusalem Post Press in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. © The Jerusalem Post 1997, Reproduction, or storage in a retrieval system, or in any other form, is prohibited without permission. Editors: 1932-1955 GERSHON AGRON, 1955-1974 TED LURIE, 1974-1975 LEA BEN-DOR, 1975-1989 ARI RATH and ERWIN FRENKEL, 1990-1992 N. DAVID GROSS, 1992-1996 DAVID BAR-ILLAN INTERNET EDTION: hntt//www.inost.co.il General E-mail: inedt@inost.co.il Editorial E-mail/editors@inost.co.il LIKUD LABOR

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The Hebron agreement

dehate is raging as to whether the Hebron agreement negotiated between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat is better, worse, or the same as the original Oslo Accords negociated by the previous government. The answer is that the agreement bas the potential to benefit both sides and become a posilive landmark in the peace process as a whole. Whether or not this poteoual is realized depends on it being implemented more faithfully than previous agreements.

Regarding the agreement on Hebron itself, it is arguable whether there is an improvement in the security arrangements from Israel's perspective. Israel insisted on a number of restrictions on the Palestinian Police, but these are the same police that are expected to help the IDF protect Israelis from attack.

The primary determinant of the security of Israelis in Hebron will not be the agreement, but a political decisioo by Arafat to prevent, rather than instigate or support, riots against the Jewish presence there. The role of Arafat and the Palestinian Police in September's violeoce demonstrates that if a poljucal decisioo is made to resort to violence. Palestinian commitments to the contrary will not prevent it.

It is the fact of the agreement, more than its content, that reduces the likelihood of a repeat of the events of last September. Then, the opeoing of a new exit to the Western Wall Tunnel was used as an excuse for violeot protests. It was quickly admitted by Palestinians that the perception of a freeze in the peace process was the real reason for the violence.

The Hebron agreement, particularly the added Israeli commitment to implement the further redeployments required by Oslo; temporarily inoculates Israel against the charge that the Netanyahu government will not continue the process. The minute Israel is perceived to be dragging its feet again, bowever, it is hard to see how the new Palestinian commitments to conviolence will hold any faster than the previous commitments did.

In general, it seems that the Palestinians have succeeded in selling Israel the same bridge over and over again. Arafat first recounced terrorism in December 1988, leading to the opening of the first US-PLO dialogue. However, the intifada continued until Arafat renounced violence again in the 1993 Declaration of Principles - the beginning of the Oslo process. In August 1995, Arafat signed the Cairo agreement, which committed the Palestinians to actively combat terrorism against Israel. Now, once again, the Palestinians bave undertakeo to combat, and not to incite, violence. In fact, all of the commitments included in the Note for the Record attached to the agreement are simply reiterations of commitments made in the Oslo Accords. Indeed, the old chestnut of

revising the Palestinian Covenant, which the Palestinians previously insisted they had already done, also makes an appearance.

So what, in the end, was accomplished? The Palestinians' main achievemeot was to enfold a Likud government into a process which they believe will lead to a Palestinian state. Israel's main accomplishment was to delay Oslo's further redeployments until roughly midway into the planned final status talks. This partially recoffies a major problem in Oslo for Israel: that Israel would relinquish control over substantial amounts of territory before final status talks had eveo begun.

One major price Israel has paid aloog the way the heightened American role in the talks. Even US negotiator Dennis Ross, usually the first to downplay his own role, said that the US had moved from being a "facilitator" to becoming a "broker." The US has gone back to submitting "bridging proposals" - something it bas studiously avoided since the Madrid Peace Conference of 1991.

At Madrid and ever since, Israel has worked hard to limit the US mediating role, in order to force the Arab parties to oegooate with it directly, rather than pushing the US to pressure Israel. But the Hebron agreement could not have been reached without the deepened US role, and both sides are grateful for the American commitmeot to the process. In principle, the current US role amounts to a step backward for Israel and given the ceotral role of US guarantees in the curreot agreement - it does oot look like the situation will change in the oear future.

Balancing this, and masked by the bitter opposition of the right wing in the Knesset, is the fact that the Israeli public is more unified in support of this agreement than at any time since the euphoria surrounding the first Rabin-Arafat handshake oo the White House lawn. A poll published in Yediot Aharonot yesterday found that 67 perceot of Israelis support the accord

and only 25 perceot oppose it. The same agreement, if reached by the previous Peres government, would oo doubt have been opposed by about half the Knesset and balf the citizens of Israel. Just as only Nixoo could go to China, and ooly Begin could give up the entire Sioai (and dismantle Yamit), ooly Netanyahu can withdraw from most of Hebron and bave two thirds of Israel behind him. But so long as Netanyahu is perceived as only reluctantly pursuing peace, the diplomatic beoefits of his concessions and the Israeli consensus will oever fully coalesce. Most importantly, he will not bave the power to enforce the concept of reciprocity that he has correctly championed, and that eluded the previous government. While he is very clear about what is not his path to peace, he has yet to explain his positive vision of peace and bow he wants to get there.

Yes – there is life after Hebron

ABBA EBAN

The Oslo agreement emerges as one of the most astonishing documents in diplomatic history.

Reviled by its opponents, it forced. its way into the center of national policy through the sheer logic and realism of its principles. It could not have triumphed if the alternatives had not been exhausted first.

The alternative to Oslo would have been the renewal of an attempt to suppress Palestinian oadonhood in a way that has become so anachronistic as to defy all the curreots of contemporary political culture.

It would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the alternative to the Hebron accord and the Oslo agreement would, sooner rather than later, have been a war in which Israel would face a united Arab world.

That war would have been fought with weaponry of the new technological age. Israel would not have had an ally in a war which would result from a failure to implement a valid international treement

The US would undoubtedly have done what would be necessary to assure Israel's survival in resistance to the assault, but the starting point of the American posicion would bave been the duty to imple-

action is determined very largely by international legitimacy. Despite the victories of Israeli diplomacy in its numerous strug-gles, the fact remains that Israel, under Labor or Likud governments, has never been able to

retain permanent control over any territory in which its posicions were not validated by international law - oot even in tiny Taba,

Binyamin Netanyahu deserves a less rejuctant applause than he has so far received from his former critics

world opinion to the permanent annexation of the Golan, leaving only the West Bank and Gaza as situated in an area of legitimate doubt. But even here, the commitments of previous Israeli governments, which were decisively sustained by domestic opinion, place the future in the hands of negotiators, oot of those who were ever open to far-reaching changes of previous jurisdictions.

ment international agreements. For Israel to have resisted the ,... We are moving into an era in tide would have marked our nation which the viability of an armed as a laggard, clinging to old ideas

defamers of Israel.

and disused palliatives. The rule of oue nation over another is the only proven impossibility of the modern age. Israel can influence the future, but cannot dictate it. Binyamin Netanyahu deserves a

less reluctant applause than he has so far received from his former critics. We are going forward by going back - back to the partition, but not to the boundaries which

diality.

enabled Israel to achieve its first hreakthrough to realism and lucidity.

Between 1947 and 1949 Israel celebrated its most dramatic transition, from unprecedented anguish to unexpected salvation. At one end the Jewish people was besieged, solitary and more savagely assaulted than any people in history. Within two years, Israel was an established sovereignty with open gates, wide recognition and an expanding circumference of friendships.

This was the result of its leaders' capacity to prefer a realistic compromise to a desperate overreaching of its powers.

The task today is, first of all, to recapture the positions which an intemperate Likud diplomacy endangered in the recent past.

When the last election took place Israel had creative relations with Egypt, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Morocco, Tunisia, Oman, Qatar, a diminution of the Sandi-led boycott, and every opportunity of expanding its friendships in North Africa and the Gulf Region.

Reckless metoric and superfluous initiatives (who remembers the tunnel at the end of the light?) arrested the momentum.

The lesson for Israel is that neighboring coexistence ensures greater security than distant cor-

One of the urgent tasks is to supersede an electoral system so fraught with inherent absurdity as to put a bopeful future out of reach. Meanwhile, there is an undercurrent of tragedy. Was Yitzhak Rabin's death really necessary if his policies (which I supported long before he embraced them himself) proved inexorable in the end?

He is a lonely non-survivor of a malice-riddeo incitement campaign: Netanyahu should rescind his own terrible sentence accusing Rabin of "personal responsibility" for Israel's losses.

The writer is a former foreign minister,

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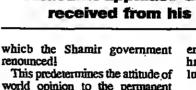
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PIONEERS OF PEACE

Sir. - For all of us from the National Camp who voted Bibi into power, expressioos of disappointment at his stand on Hebron are a luxury we can ill afford at this hour. Towns and areas have already been handed over to Arafat, cavalier fashion, by the previous government, as part of a peace agreement, the value of which was made clear for all to see in the September conflagrations. The task of our government oow is in remind Nobel Prize winner Arafa1 and 10 keep reminding him that the life of overy Jew has a price, as does every centimeter of the Promised come into Hebron (or anywhere gand, whether under our control

or his. Furthermore, it is of vital importance that public opinion focusing on the Jews living in Hebron be made to realize that they, these easily be misinterpreted (espe-Jewish families, not the throwers of balloons or the singers of the to have been mentally unstable) Peace Anthem, are the authentic and lead to further such jocipioneers of peace and coexislence.

CELIA ULANOVSKY Ginot Shomron.

Sir, - In commenting on Hebron a State of Israel 49 years ago and attempt to settle a comparatively (January 3). Abba Eban refers to very small number of Jews amid The notion of placing a few hundred Israelis amid 120,000 hundreds of millions of "implacably ardent Moslems" in the center 'implacably ardent Moslems'" as of the encompassing Arab world. "a march of folly." If that be true. it must have certainly been a Furthermore, if it seems logical for us Jews in believe that our "march of folly" as well to declare

Sir, - I respect Oleg's ability as responsible soldiers jumped inm a policial cartoonist, for as an artist and commentator on current events, he is in a class by himself. However, io his cartoon of January 2, he apparently leaped to his drawing board too soon. The dier with a smoking rifle and the way that one of our young, outstretched arm of a civilian Neveh Ilan.

Sir, - Whilst reading your reports of the shooting in Hebron on January 1, 1 was particularly struck by the reaction of both Moshe Levinger and Tsomet chairman Eliezer Zandberg. They both justified their reasoning for Mr. Netanyahu not to withdraw from Hebron because, if a similar incident occurred after the IDF had withdrawn, there would be nobody there to prevent reprisal attacks on the Jewish settlers. Surely their coocerns and powers of persuasion would be much

more usefully directed towards

trying to ensure that Jews didn't

else) armed and with the inteo-

tion to kill Arahs. In this regard,

the call by certain rabbis for sol-

diers to disobey orders on with-

drawal from Hebron could very

cially as Noam Friedman appears

dents, possibly with even worse

NOT RUNNING

IAN FOUX

results.

Herzliya.

SHOCKING REACTION

January 2, you printed, against a different background to make it really jump to everyone's eye, "Jewish terror since 1990." Common decency and a newspaper's objectivity ought in bave prevailed, and you should have put, right next to it, Arab terror since 1990.

HANNAH BRAMSON Haifa.

OBJECTIVITY

Sir, - On page 2 of your issue of

GARIN MISHMAR

Sir. - We are currently researching a book about the Nahal experience of the company of new immigrants within Garin Mishmar who underwent basic training at Mahaneh Shmonim in January 1978. Veterans of that unit are encouraged to contact us to schedule interviews. E-mail should be directed to Shelit@aol.com or to psml@ix.netcom.com. Or write to us c/o 5901 Misty Court, Agoura Hills, CA 91301.

SHELDON TEITELBAUM PETER MARGOLIS Agoura Hills, Calif.

very presence is understandably intolerable to others here in this region, we might better become more "implacably ardent Jews" ... or quickly run away! I personally am not running.

ELAINE SHLOMOVIC Jerusalem,

COURAGEOUS SOLDIER

lying on the ground. In spite of what this misguided the breach and protected innocent people should have been the focus soldier did, I am proud of the courageous soldier who subdued of his cartoon, not the implied him. Kudos to the army, not shame reflected in our bullet-ridden insignia, the jackboot of a solshame. STAN KIMMEL

are certain individuals who should not be giveo a platform at Jewish functions. The question is where to draw the line: that is, which individuals should be invited to speak to Jewish groups, and which ones should 10n

veryone agrees that there

We at the Zionist Organizadon of America believe that pro-Israel organizations should oot invite hostile cricics of Israel, such as New York Times correspondents Thomas Friedman and Anthony

Lewis to be their speakers. When Lewis spoke at AIPAC's 1995 conference, and when Friedman spoke at the Anti-Defamadon League's 1996 dinoer, all that ZOA and I did was express our disagreement about their choice of speakers. In responsible, respectful language we explained our point of view. We did not attempt to intimidate anybody. We did not try to disrupt

those events. We simply exercised our right to free speech. Yet Neal Sher (AIPAC's former executive director) and Abraham Foxman (national director of the ADL) have launched a campaign to muzzle us and deny our right to express our view as to the wisdom

of their choices. In a blatant attempt to silence us by utilizing the tactic of defamaoon and name-calling, Neal Sher in these pages called the ZOA "intimidators," and "bullies." "thought police," and referred to "Klein's mod."

Foxman publicly called me "an attack dog of the thought police," said I am "in the gutter," and urged that I be "ostracized" and "expelled from the organized Jewish world." He vowed: "I am going after Mort Klein." (Forward, November 29, 1996)

Ironically, Sher and Foxman, who are supposedly devoted to fighting defamers of Israel, have themselves provided platforms for defamers of Israel, and are now themselves engaged in defaming the ZOA.

Foxman also recently condemned the ZOA and myself for criticizing Strobe Talbott (we opposed his nomination as deputy secretary of state because he wrote 16 anti-Israel articles for Time magazine, including one in which be compared Israel to Iraq); US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk (we expressed our concern over his boycott of the Jerusalem 3000 opening opening ceremonies), and journalist Leonard Fein (we criticized him for publicly calling Prime Minister Netanyahu "evil." Instead of condemning the ZOA

Morton A. Klein

for cridcizing Talbott, Indyk, and Israel to a higher standard than I Fein, Foxman and the ADL themdo its neighbors," he told the Washington Jewish Week OB selves should be combating such Marcb 11, 1993. Therefore one might ask: Who

And Lewis bas whitewashed are the real "Jewish thought Egyptian hostility toward Israel. For example, after visiting Egypt police" — those of us who in 1992, be declared: "I found no express our opinioo about American Jewish groups inviting hint of hostility wheo Israel was mentiooed." (New York Times, speakers who are hostile to Israel; or those who try to prevent as February 6, 1992)

Instead of condemning the ZOA and myself, Neal Sher and Abraham Foxman should be attacking defamers of Israel like **Thomas Friedman and Anthony Lewis**

from exercising our right to express our opinions? And why do Sher and Foxman feel compelled to rush to the defense of individuals who are so

hostile to Israel? While Sher, incredibly, calls Anthony Lewis and Thomas Friedman "honorable men committed to Israel's security," Norman Podhoretz, the esteemed former editor of Commentary, just last month pointed out that Lewis and Friedman "take delight in attacking and defaming Israel."

Indeed, Foxman himself bas described Lewis in these terms: "Stale rhetoric and placitudes that blame Israel for current obstacles... dowoplaying the Palestinian-based factors that have led to the delay in further implementation of Palestinian selfrule... assigning Israel the primary responsibility for the deterioration of the peace process ... [to Lewis,] Israel always seems to be the party most deserving of blame."

No wonder, consider Anthony Lewis's record. Lewis has circulated false allegadons against Israel. One of the most notorious was a May 15, 1982 column in the Times claiming that Israel had banned 2,000 books, including works by Shakespeare, in the administered territories. (The Jerusalem Post later exposed the book-banning claim as a complete falsehood.) Lewis makes no secret of his

pro-Arab leanings: "I'm very sympatheoc toward the Palestinians, who are the genuine underdogs, with no land and no government," he said in an October 1991 interview with the Dade Jewish Journol.

Lewis uses a double standard in judging Israel's actions: "I do have a double standard. I hold

Lewis ignored the frequent appearance of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish articles and cartoons in Egypt's govemment-controlled press, as well as the many other incidents demonstrating official Egyptian hostility toward Israel and Jews.

Thomas Friedman is no more friendly to Israel than Lewis: Foxman's claim that Friedman's views "are always expressed within the context of support for the State of Israel" is simply mistaken. Although Friedman's defenders have tried to portray him as merely a critic of the Likud's policies, Friedman has actually been attacking Israel for more than 20 years, regardless of whether Israel was ruled by Likud or Labor or both. And Friedman's close reladonship with James Baker when he was secretary of state is something that should trouble Likudnik and Laborite alike.

According to Baker's recent autobiography, Baker often consulted Friedman on Mideast issues; and it was Friedman who came up with the idea to have Baker publicly humiliate Israel m 1990 hy announcing "When you're serious about peace, call us," and giving out the White House telephone number.

As recently as his November 20,

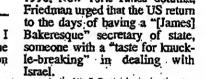
POSTSCRIPT

BRAIN SURGEONS from around the world are back beme. after a week of learning new surgical techniques by picking seeds out of pumpkins.

Two dozen hrain surgeons from Italy, Germany and Japan trained! in Cleveland using both pumpkins and cadavers:

skull and the hrain as physicians the real thing,

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No wonder Kenneth Bialkin, former chairman of ADL and of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said: "I happen personally not to favor [Friedman] as a keynote speaker. It's not a choice that I would have made." (Forward, November 29, 1996) This is not an issue of free speech. Nobody is suggesting any restrictions on the right of Lewis and Friedman to say what they want. Indeed, they already have one of the most prominent plat-

forms in the world, the op-ed page of the New York Times, from which they express their opinions twice each week.

We are simply saying that no organization has an obligation to give a platform to someone who is hostile to Israel. And this is all the more true for

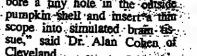
organizations that are pro-Israel. The ADL and AIPAC say they support Israel and its prime minister, they should not give platforms to those who regularly defame Israel and its prime minister.

Abraham Forman² of the ADL was wrong to give a platform to Friedman; Neal Sher was wrong to give a platform to Lewis at the 1995 AIPAC conference.

When important Jewish organizations such as the ADL or AIPAC invite a Friedman or a Lewis as their keynote speaker, it gives a false impression to the American public, Congress, and the White House that Friedman's and Lewis's views are shared by a large and important segment of the American Jewish community. That is the wrong message to send because it is false, and because it adds weight to Friedman's and Lewis's anacks on Israel

The writer is national president of the Zionist Organization of America.

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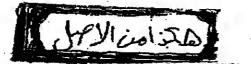


Cleveland. After getting a feel for the delicate instruments by removing pumpkin seeds through the hole. "The pumpkins simulate the beads and then, if all goes well,

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Autor all 06-39879 anton American Contention & Constant Article in Intention NONE SOUTH No Kol Studio

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OPINION

Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post .

The signs were clear

They call it the Hebron agreement. In fact, it is a much broader accord, with far-reaching consequences. It fixes the dates of future IDF withdrawals in Judea and Samaria over the next 18 months.

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prised by the shift in the agreemeot's emphasis from Hebron to further withdrawals. The signs were on the wall.

I can still hear my Hebrew literature professor, Joseph Klausper, telling us: "If you see a gun hang-ing on the wall io Act I, you may

be sure it will go off in Act III." This image is highly applicable to the drama that has been playing itself out over a period of weeks and months: the accord with the Palestinians, and Israel's verbal fencing with Egypt and Syria.

The Syrian government's sud-den decision to hlame Israel for the bus bomb that went off recently in Damascus shouldn't be dismissed as some fanciful, absurd plot. It is part of the unfolding of a carefully worked-out script.". The Syrians know that the Sandi opposition was behind the explosion in Damascus, but they have their eye on the shot they will fire in the last act - in other words, Syrian terror against Israel.

In a newspaper interview this week Syria's deputy president explained that Syria doesn't want a war, because of the toll in human life. He didn't specify the alternative; but it is likely that the Syrian preference is for "remote-control terror" against Israeli, via oot only Hizbullah in south Lebanon, but also the Palestinian rejectionist organizations based in Damascus. Thus there shouldn't be any surprise if it eventually turns out that Syria's accusing Israel in the bus episode was just part of a semp

aimed at egging the terrorists on to strike against Israel The same principle goes for what Egypt's Mubarak has been

At the beginning of the Hebron negotiations, while the Israeli and Palestinian teams were still dickering over issues like bot pursuit and buffer zones, Mubarak sent a hasty signal to Arafat that the objective must be not just Hebron - the agreement must also include other elements, namely, arrangements for the IDF's next three withdrawals from Judea and Samaria.

MOSHE ZAK

Mubarak got this message over not explicitly but indirectly: He said he would not meet with Netanyahn until all the withdrawals from most of the "territories" had been arranged. The withdrawal from

Hebron wasn't chough. Mubarak was really saying to Arafac "Look how I deal with Netanyahu without risking confrontatioo with the Americans. You can go on negotiating with the Israelis about Hebron, but before yoo sign, you should demand assurances of the other withdrawals beyond Hebron."

It was no great effort for the Egyptians to sell Arafat these tactics making a Hebron agreement conditional on Israel's committing itself

israel should not have been surprised by the agreement's shift In emphasis to further withdrawals

to withdrawing from 90 percent of the territory within nine months. Arafat settled for an American guarantee of Israel's commitment, hat wouldn't agree at any price to a change in the timetable of IDF withdrawal from the rural areas of Jodea and Samaria.

WHY DID he bold up the Hebron agreement? The answer is bound op in the same theatrical convention: The gun in Act I will go off m Act III.

The longer Arafat delayed the Hebron accord, the easier it would be to fulfill his dream of proclaiming a Palestinian state without the need for further negotiations with Israel, once he was already in control of more than 90 percent of the disputed territory. During the weeks of protracted negotiations over Hebron, neither the Israelis nor the Americans paid enough attention to the shot that was to come. They argued furiously over every wrinkle in the security arrangements in Hebron, but failed to spot the land mine

buried at the end of the negotia-MANUCATION OF SHIPPON interacting datases on a state state state is a second

tions: The timetable of IDF withdrawal from Judea and Samaria. The dates suggested by the two

sides were not capricious choices, but the result of two diametrically opposed approaches.

The Israelis wanted to link the last stage of the IDF redeploymeot to the negotiations on the permanent settlement, while the Palestinians wanted to bring the IDF withdrawal forward. In this way they sought to block off the option of territorial compromise and create the new option unilaterally declaring a Palestinian state in lieo of negoti-

ations. With almost all the territory in their hands they can easily take the risk of declaring indepeodence, and even gain wide international recognition.

The compromise King Hussein achieved between Arafat and Netanyahu at the beginning of this week assured a postponement of the third withdrawal by 11 months. Instead of September 1997, as Arafat demanded, the final redeployment will now take place in August 1998. But this doesn't solve Israel's fundamental quandry: whether the process of IDF withdrawal from Judea and Samaria will end before the completion of negotiations on the permanent agreement. Will Arafat be left with time in

hand to exploit the fact of gaining almost all the territory in order to break free of dependency on permanent-status negotiations with Israel? Will be create unilaterally the accomplished fact of a Palestinian state in all the territory evacuated by the IDF?

The agreement reached through King Hussein's mediation has bought Israel a hreathing space; bot it has not brought any guarantee against a unilateral declaration of statchood by Arafat between Angust 1998, the time for the completion of the withdrawals, and May 1999, the target date for ending negotiations on the permanent settlement

Warren Christopher assured Israel of its right to determine the extent of the third stage of IDF withdrawal. Unless Netanyahu can persuade the US to resist Arab pressure to ignore this assurance, that third stage will cause Israel a great deal of angst.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on current affairs. man goes into a jewelry shop, picks out the finest

A shop, picks out the finest diamond necklace, then nums to the shopkeeper with an ultimatum He'll take the oecklace balloon of a (demilitarized) Jews some sort of security - free-dom of operation for the IDE operation for the IDF inian state. aom It is a generous Ramadan prethis after "Bloody and travelers at least will jump off in sent indeed that Israel has given September," in which Arafat's solan attempt to force the fall of the the PLO chairman: Hebron, diers killed 16 Israelis. government and new elections. wrapped up in almost all the Gone too is Netanyahu's famous inhabited parts of Judea and condition of "reciprocity." The If the Land is to be relinquished, better it should be done by Mereiz agreement contains no direct link-Samaria. If this is the "New Likud," nothage making any further Israeli move conditional oo Arafat's ing could be more apt than Bar-Illan's conclusion that there is no making good on a myriad of past,

Netanyahu train will notice that the destination has been changed, from the Land of Israel to

Falastin. Gradually, as the euphoria fades

From Hebron to a PLO state

ELYAKIM HA'ETZNI

and the hitter truth emerges, som

They will have nothing to lose.



Israel shouldn't have been sur-

police"

f the appointment of Roni Bar-On as attorney-general was defective, the cancellation of the appointment was super-defective. The High Court should never have been brought into the matter. Cabinet discussions subject to judicial review? There is no more certain method to prevent serious and open deliberations around the cabinet table. That is why such matters are universally considered privileged.

The next time the government has before it the appointment of an attorney-general, the discussion will be less open and less candid than it has ever been before. The ministers will be aware that the protocol may come before the High Court for judicial inspection. Was the court expected to judge the legality of politics? The least significant aspect of the entire appointment fiasco was its legality. The real issue was whether the appointment made any sense.

True, if a governmental decision makes oo sense at all - that is, if it is beyond the realm of reason ~ fairly recent High Court decisions hold that this constitutes illegality. Io a properly functioning democracy, nonsensical governmental decisions should be tested politically, not judicially.

Transferring the decision from the government to the judicial appointments committee, with the addition of the prime minister and the speaker of the Knesset, as pro-posed by MK Shaul Yahalom, chairman of the Knesset Law committee, is another cop-out.

The judicial appointments committee, composed of three supreme court justices, the justice minister and another government minister, two members of the Knesset, and two bar association representatives, is by definition apolitical. Presumably, it would diminish the probability of judicial review, if the decision on the choice of the attorney-general was quasi-judicial to begin with. Apparently the High Court has never reviewed a decision of the judicial appointments committee.

ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

Politics isn't a dirty word

Politics is oot a dirty word. The attorney-general determines policy in important areas of national life. His appointment is an important political decision.

Why shouldn't the supervision of the decision be political as well? Supervising the executive should be a major part of the leg-islature's workload.

Why oot make the decision of the government on the appointment of the attomcy-general sub-ject to ratification by the Knesset Law Committee? What does it tell . us about our faith in democratic government when the chairman of the Knesset Law Committee pro-

For a new attomey-general, political experience could be an asset. not a liability

poses that the decision be transferred to an apolitical forum?

THE SAME flight from politics that characterizes much of the discussion about the appointment process also infects the criteria for appointment.

If the candidate for appointment is politically identified, at the very least he bas a defect which requires outstanding professional qualifications to overcome. Reportedly this is the opinion of the President of the Supreme Court, Aharon Barak, as expressed to Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi prior to the cabinet meeting at which the Bar-On appointment was approved.

A realistic view of the role of the attorney-general points in a different direction, Much of the failures of the last

two incumbents, Yosef Harish and Michael Ben-Yair, may be traced

ence. Both came to the office after experience as district court judges. In our judicial system, this means that not only their political experience but even their involve-

ment in crucial areas of public law was severely restricted. If Barak intends his constitutional revolution to be more than just a metaphor, there should be a revolution in the qualifications for

the office of attorney-general. Poliocal experience could be an important asset not a liability. Of course, it should be experience at a level that is relevant to the job that the attorney-general has to perform.

The notion that the attomeygeneral should be unideotified politically rests oo the argument that his qualifications are identical to those for appointment as a justice of the supreme court. But instead of searching for the apolitical professional for the attorneygeneral's job, the time has come to revise the criteria for appointment to the supreme court.

In a tribunal that determines constitutional and other vital public law issues, the lack of relevant political experience is a serious defect. Just as experience as district court judge has not proved the best preparation for the role of attorney-general, so it may not be the best qualification for service on the natioo's highest judicial tri-

This makes it doubly regrettable that an able candidate for appointment as attorney-general, District Court Judge Elyakim Rubinstein, reportedly declined the job, precisely because his ambitioo is to sit oo the Supreme Court. For that, experience as attorney-general is probably preferable.

Perhaps we would have more qualified attorneys-general - and more qualified justices - if it became the practice to give preference to the outgoing attorney-gener-al in consideration for appointment to a vacancy on the supreme court.

The writer is a legal and political commentator.

but only if it comes wrag in a million-dollar bill.

The shopkeeper doesn't call in the meo in white coats. Instead, he begins bargaining over the "price." Finally he congratulates himself for having brought it down to half a million, together with the necklace.

Is he mad, or what? The jewel that is Hehron wouldn't have become the breaking point in Netanyahu's relatioos with his voters if it hadn't been for the even larger issues that go down the drain together with it. These issues are so large as to make Hebron just an appetizer to the full meal being served Arafat hy the ministers who raised their hands in the Hebroo vote.

They are potting their state under an obligation to the US (!) to hand over, in three installments, all of Judea and Samaria except the desert area, which comprises close to 40 percent of the whole, and the settlements, which Netanyahu earlier pledged oot to expand.

The surrender of Hebron thus presages a Palestinian state, since the only thing that still stands between Arafat and his unilateral declaration of statehood is the possession of territory. All the other attributes he already has.

As long as he is boled up in an "archipelago" of eight isolated towns surrounded by Israeli-controlled territory a state is simply not practicable; but after the three IDF "redeployments" it will be Israel's settlemeots and "military locations" that remain as isolated islands. As Falastin's day dawns,

theirs will wane. Small wonder, then, that close Netanyahu adviser David Bar-

The city is just an appetizer to the full meal being served Arafat by those ministers who voted for the agreement

Worse still, from oow on the US

constitutes a violatioo, and on

wbether Israel will be allowed to

discontinue the "process" in reac-

Gone is Netanyahu's reluctance

to be under the same roof as

premier has been bending over

backwards to get Arafat to deign

Gone even is the Peres-Arafat

concession that left all Israeli

property in Hebron under Israeli

control. Now, all ucoccupied

So where do we go from

Jewish property goes to ArafaL

Hehron? Travelers oo

Arafat. For some time now, the

tion to any such breach.

to meet with him.

longer any real difference between present and future violations. the Likud and Labor. will be the arbiter regardiog what

The Likud's partition of the Land of Israel has shaken us like an earthquake, breaking up the ground under the National Camp and bringing the historic, 60-year ideological Revisionist-Herut camp to a dismal end.

When Likud MK Michael Eitan and seven other Likud MKs came to terms with MK. Yossi Beilin regardiog the "Beilio-Abu Mazen plan" something they couldn't have dooe without the prime minister's tacit hlessing - they started a fire which spells the spiritual extinction of Jabotinsky's "New Ziooist" organization.

Only a speedy revolution coming from inside the party can now prevent those flames from con-suming the Likud physically.

ALTHOUGH Hebron is just the boulder setting a devastating avalanche in motion, the Hebron deal, looked at in and of itself, is a disaster too.

Gone is the one and the only

TAX FREE BY

and the [Israeli] Arabs. They have much to gain: Netanyahu has oo hope of being renominated as his party's candidate in the next elections. After Hebron, the transfer of almost all the habitable parts of Judea and Samaria to Arafat in three stages will mark the tomhstone on his Career.

In Labor, many will prefer "elections-now" to a unity govern-ment led, de facto, by Shimon Peres. Any candidate with some standing will have the same chance as the young man who came along in 1992, salvaged a hroken party, beat Labor and became prime minister.

If electing Netanyahu was a mistake, well, it can be rectified hy a replay of May 1996. Netanyahu was a relative unknown before his meteoric leap into power.

It is impossible to believe that half the natioo cannot produce another candidate.

The writer, an attorney and former MK, lives in Kiryat Arba.

SOME PEOPLE DON'T

the

Some PEOPLE DON'T TAKE STUDYING BY MAIL SERIOUSLY Some people believe that you cannot get a good education through distance education. Some people believe that, because you are getting your education through a correspondence school, you don't have to work for your diploma or your degree. Some people contuse "phony degree mills" with legitimate distance-education schools. If you are one of these people, don't mad any burble. It is tooking for people with the their education SERIOUSLY, whether ittending a traditional college or subying by mail. We are looking for people with will apply themselves and work hard to get the full yales of the training total ILS offices. Diplomas and Degrees are issued upon successful completion of a program accredited by the Accrediting Commission of the Distance Education and Taking Council...your gestrantee of a quality education schools by our education seriously and want to train for a new cateer or improve your job skils for advancement in your present job. ICS may have the right camer training for you. Choose from 54 camer programs listed below. Select the one camer fraid your would like to train for and indicase that choice in the coopon below. Cau dut this ad and mail or fax it to ICS thay. We will send you a detailed program outline and labiton schedule by roturn almmal. There is no obligation. SEND FOR FREE FACTS—NO OBLIGATION

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WORLD NEWS

Abortion clinic bombed

told reporters on the last day of ber

four-day trip to war-scarred

Angola to highlight the misery

opportunity to experieoce at first

hand the suffering caused by land-

"This visit has giveo me the

landmines cause.

Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

OSCE to Milosevic: Grant protesters' demands

By MARK HEINRICH

BELGRADE - Europe's higgcst security body inteosified pressure on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic yesterday, urging him to go beyond piecemeal concessions and fully recognize local electioo

wins by opposition parties. The OSCE admonished Belgrade after Milosevic con-vened federal Yugoslavia's defence council to address the Serbian political crisis, which showed oo sign of subsiding after the opposition resumed protest rallies despite the concessions.

Up to half a millioo people have

demonstrated daily for almost nine weeks in a hid to reinstate opposition victories in Serbian local elections oullified hy the ruling Socialists (SPS), who claimed unspecified "irregularities". Cornered hy an OSCE inquiry that confirmed the opposition

Zajedno (Together) coalition won the vote in 14 of 18 major towns, electoral commissions on Tuesday admitted the ruling leftist coalition had lost Belgrade and the second city Nis.

But the SPS-led commissions stressed the results were preliminary and the government had until tomorrow to appeal.

Suspicious opposition leaders vowed to continue protests, pulling some 10,000 people into Belgrade's streets again yesterday, after a senior Socialist hardliner said an appeal was planned against the electoral commissioo rulings. "Step-by-step concessions to the opposition on what ought to be a merely mechanical issue ---- trans-

lating the results into seats — is simply not the way to handle this situatioo," OSCE chairman-in-office Niels Helveg Petersen said. The OSCE message to the Socialists is simply: 'Doo't think you can get away with tossing bits and pieces of bones to the opposition'," a senior diplomat in Belgrade said.

Bill Cosby's son shot dead

LOS ANGELES - Bill Coshy's only soo was shot to death yesterday after stopping on a Santa Monica Mountains road. The body of Ennis Cosby, in his 20s, was found aloogside his

Mercedes-Benz convertible at the top of Sepulveda Pass, publicist David Brokaw said. Police said he died of a single guoshot wound.

yesterday in New York, where the show is produced. Coshy and wife "We have every confidence in the LAPD. Our hearts go out to

rience that is truly difficult to share," Coshy said. "The victim was apparently having car trouble and stopped to change a tire. He was killed as a result of a gunshot wound." Lt.

Anthooy Alha said. 'The car was found with the trunk opeo and the door opeo on the passenger side."

LUANDA (Reuter) - Britain's mines," she said after meeting Princess Diana, who ended a trip some of Angola's legion of to Angola yesterday, shrugging off amputees, victims of mines that cootroversy over her fight to ban still pepper the countryside three landmines, a crusade sbe oow years into peace. bopes to take to trouhlespots "It has convinced me I must around the globe,

continue to play a part in the oogo-She brushed off criticism by ing worldwide campaign to ban politicians back home that she landmines." should mind her own business and

Diana ends

She nodded when asked if she wanted to visit Afghanistan, Bosnia and Cambodia to highlight the anti-mine campaign that she publicized in Angola on behalf of the British Red Cross, from which she resigned as vice president last July. "I would hope there will be other visits like this one because I think it needs to be consistent and ;; and say how tetrible! it is," said f am in a positioo to raise the profile of the campaign around the world.

"I look forward to visiting other Britain had not spoiled her visit.

Smoke rises from the site where the second of two bombs exploded yesterday near a building housing an abortion clinic in Atlanta. The second bomb exploded while federal officials combed through debris left by the first blast. (Result) Lebed may attend Clinton political minefield trip

swearing-in

WASHINGTON (AP) Russia's former national security chief, Alexander Lebed, may be attending President Clinton's inauguration. Then again, maybe not.

the princess said, adding that her The White House said yesterday backing of the anti-landmine campaign was a long-term committhe administration had not invited him but that he may have a ticket. A prominent member of British The Joint Congressional Inangural Committee cootrols Prime Minister John Major's tickets to the ceremony, which it Conservatives rounded on Diana. distributes to members of Congress to pass out as they see who last year divorced heir to the throne Prince Charles, for being fit.

"The Congress is free to invite "This is an important, sophisticated argument. It doesn't help whoever the Congress feels is simply to point at the amputees appropriate," said White "House Peter, Viggers, of parliament's But Diana said the row in

press secretary Mike McCurry. But Eric Ruff, a spokesman for Sen. John Warner, who is cochairman of the committee, said. We did not invite him. But that does not preclude the fact that be may have a ticket because senators get 400 tickets each and members

of the House, 200." whether Lebed, who is on a private visit to Germany, plans to attend. Asked Tuesday if he would visit 🖤 the United States in the near future, Russia's self-styled presi-dent-in-waiting said, " I will go to the United States after my inauguration." Lebed is the most popular politi-cian in Russia, according to opinion polls. He has called on ailing President Boris Yeltsin to resign, saying he is too ill to run the coun-try. Yeltsin fired Lebed last October. Lebed last visited Washington Nov. 22, meeting with members of the Clinton administration, infloential members of Congress, the husiness community and news media. McCurry said earlier this week that the United States customarily does not invite foreign politicians or heads of state to inauguration ceremonies, where foreign countries are represented hy their ambassadors. But South African leader Nelson Mandela attended the 1992 inauguration before he became presi-

memory of our dear mother, grandmother, great -grandmother and sister HELEN (Hinda) STAMPFER 57 will be held on Monday, January 20, 1997 (12 Shevat 5757), at 1:30 p.m. at Har Hamenuhot, Jerusalem.

The Loving Family

The 54-year-old star of television's Cosby was notified early = Camille have four daughters.

each and every family that such an incident occurs. This is a life expe-

not get involved in politics as. "merely a distraction" and vowed oot to change course. "I am oot a political figure, the fact is I am a humanitarian figure and always will be," the princess

In deep sorrow we announce the death of our dear PHYLLIS HACKETT The bereaved families

The unveiling of the tombstone in loving

ברוך דיין האמת

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved

RAPHA PERETZ FREDMAN

of Saint Louis, Missouri

The funeral took place on Thursday, January 16, 1997

Brother: Carmi

Shiva at Greenbaum residence, 18 Sorotzkin, Tel. (02)-537-3853

Parents: Irving (Yechiel) and Bracha

Children: Ayla and Ari

Hackett, Gaba, Abrahams and our extended families We will visit the grave on Januery 20 at 10 e.m. at Har Tamir, Har Hamenuhot.

With deep sorrow we mourn the untimely passing of our beloved

ABRAHAM SCHWARTZ

The funeral will take place today, January 17, 1997 (9 Shevat 5757) at 11 a.m. at the Savyon Cemetery.

> Mourned by: Niva Schwartz **Roni and Vered Schwartz** Ziv and Shahar Schwartz Shiri Schwartz Yitzhak and Ilana Schwartz and family Amnon and Yaira Schwartz and family Grandsons, Nir and Gai Schwartz

The Aminach Group

mourns the untimely passing of its owner and director-general

ABRAHAM SCHWARTZ

The funeral will take place today, Friday, January 17, 1997 (9 Shevat 5757) at 11 a.m. at the Savyon Cemetery.

Aminach Polyniv Danish Rim American Comfort Cardo-Hungary

charged over 1946 pogrom

Four to be

ment

"very uninformed".

-defence committee.

WARSAW (AP) — Four former communist security officials will be charged with failing to act dur-ing a 1946 antisemitic riot in which 42 Jcws were killed, the justice minister said yesterday. Leszek Kubicki said prosecutors would file charges after a government-appointed commissioo investigating the riot in the central town of Kielce completes its work. He said that would be soon, hut did oot give a date. Similar cases were dropped

against four other former security officers who have died, Kubicki told a news conference. He said all suspects were Poles,

but refused to identify them. Kubicki said there was no proof of political instigation of the pogrom, in which a moh turned against Jewish oeighbors suspect-

ed of kidnapping a young boy. But prosecutor Zbignicw Mielecki, a commission member, told the Zycie independent daily "there is evidence" that the communist secret police might have provoked the riot.

countries...There are so many

countries who need help in the

same way. There are so many

landmines sitting dormant.

Someone has to do something,"

Mielecki and other commission officials were unavailable for comment yesterday.

Nine people who allegedly took part in the July 4, 1946, riot were executed after a communist court sentenced them in a summary trial only days after the riot.

Mention of the case was banned under communism. Poles lifted the veil over it only after the totalitarian regime was toppled in 1989, and the Commission for Investigating Crimes Against the Polish Nation began looking into it in 1992.

Crown Heights federal trial on again

terday how a gang of blacks, whipped to anger by the traffic death of a seven-year-old boy, "took the law into its own hands" by attacking a yeshiva student in Crown Heights. The attack that led to the death

of Yankel Rosenbaum, 29, was "hateful and ugly, and struck at the very soul of what we are as Americans," assistant US Attorney Valerie Caproni said.

Her statement opened the trial of two men charged with violating Rosenbaum's civil rights in the August 1991 pogrom. One, Lemrick Nelson Jr., 21, was acquitted of murder in a state trial in 1992 in 1992.

Rosenbaum was stabbed during the anti-Jewish riots touched off when a car driven by a member of Crown Heights' Lubavitch hassidim killed Gavin Cato, a sevenyear-old black boy.

The violence and its aftermath polarized the neighborhood,

NEW YORK (AP) - A federal where a black majority and the bassidim have long maintained an uneasy coexistence.

Caproni told the jury, sworn in minutes earlier by US District Judge David Trager, that Nelson stabled the visiting Anstralian yeshiva student with a knife and was then identified by the dying man.

She said the secood defendant, Charles Price, 43, incited the violence with angry specches at the accident scene. The gang was looking for a scapegoat that night and it found one," she said. "His name was ' Yankel Rosenbaum."

Nelson's lawyer, Trevor Headley, told the just time his client, who had just mined I6 at the time, did not stab me victim and was framed by police

six blacks, four Hispanics and two whites.



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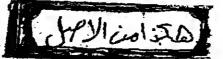
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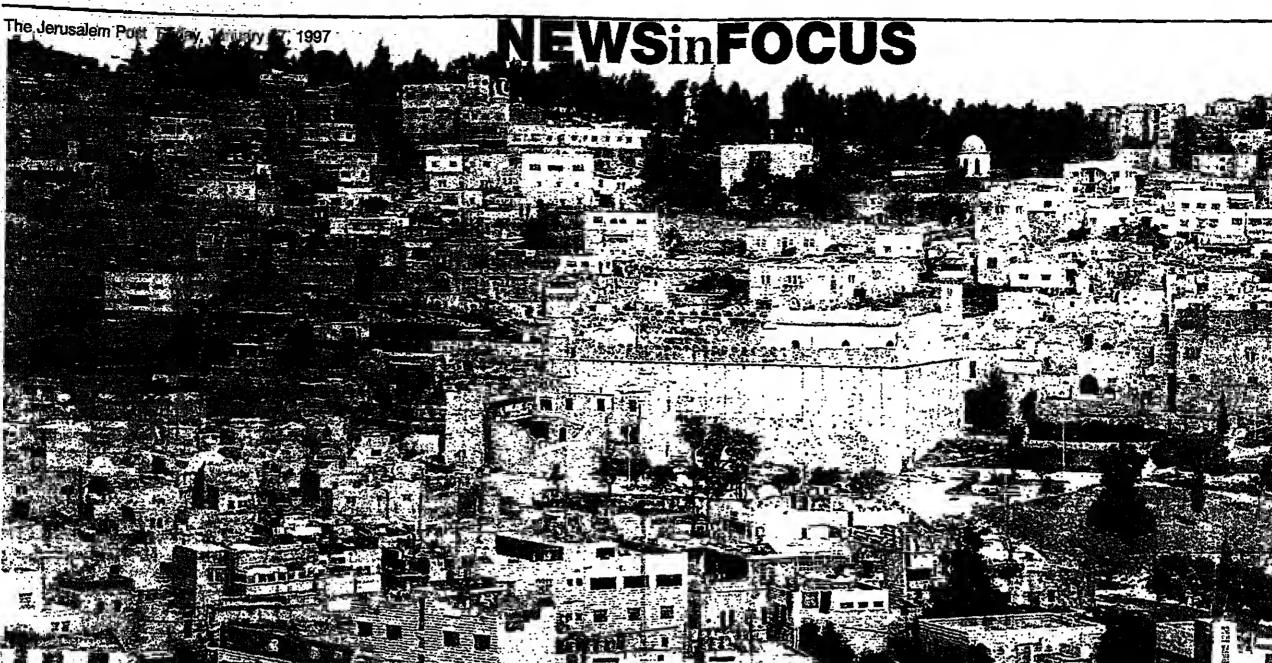
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efense Minister Yitzhak and its aftermath. By looking back Mordechai likes to com- at the evolution of the Hebron pare the opponents of the talks themselves, one can trace the Hebron accord to the soldier who evolution of Netanyahu and look complains about breakfast in the at some of the other key actors army. When his curious commanincluding Mordechai, which offer glimpses into the future. der tries to pin down the exact complaint by asking what he ate,

If one wants to look for a major tunning point in the Hebron talks one needs to return to the September violence that surrounded the nmnel affair. Before this incident there had been drift and desultory conversations which had even been regarded as progress

With the Hebron accord, Prime Ministen Rinyamin Netanyahu and - considering the first two months in his asymmetry wakened an the buatfied when Netanyahu did not id in so bloing left : even want to meet Yasser Arafat or

HEBRON:

The eventual signing of the Hebron accord followed months of setbacks which accompanied Netanyahu's steep learning curve, David Makovsky writes

November, Israel withdrew its insistence upon explicit language enabling Israel to preemptively and preventively reenter the 80% of Hebron under Palestinian cootrol whenever it was deemed necessary to fight terrorism. Israel settled for a reaffirmation of the Oslo II clause, which enabled limited reactive bol pursuit - something which could have been obtained within days of the Likud's coming to office last June. In a certain way, this marked the period of greatest confusioo. Foreign Minister David Levy would make statements that the talks would be over "in hours" - a ration he would marked the effective end of his involvement in the talks, when it blatantly turned out to be untrue. Also, Israel did oot take into account the person who turned into perhaps the biggest personal winner of these talks, Saeb Erekat. Israeli officials, along with Palestinian security officials, were oot fond of Erekar due to his often abrasive style. Israel's top oegotiator, Yitzhak Molcbo, sought to circumvent Erekat by going straight to Arafat, yet this turned out to be in vain.

Erekat knew bow to press

Arafat's hot button, turning mun-

dane issues such as the use of rifles instead of pistols into the one issue that Arafat likes to hear. "Palestinian dignity." Another advantage of Erekat was that with Ahmed Qreia (known as Abu Ala) now out of the negotiating loop by becoming speaker of the Palestinian legislative Council, oo Palestinian knew Oslo II as well as Erekat. Moreover, his sbarp grasp of English made him a mismatch for Dan Sbomron, whose English is poor and who is oeither interested in oor capable of dealing with legal ouance.

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Finally, Erekat came with a grudge. He believed that negotiares and Uri Savir on Palestinian counterparts by going over their heads and appealing directly to Arafat on key aspects of Oslo II. Hence, Israel faced an experienced negotiator who was determined not to be outmaneuvered, or to allow Israelis to go over his bead. Egypt was dying to get into the process to demonstrate Cairo's perennial quest for regional leadership. Netanyahu thought Egypt may be belpful in getting the Palestinians to temper their demands, and invited Moussa to

the polemics of the past behind . and accepted that the Palestinians are destined to share this small strip of land. It is crucial as it marked the Likud's first agreement with the PLO, and the first time that the Likud is making a territorial concession in the West Bank, Moreover and no less critically, this government consent to adhere to establishing three further pullbacks ensures that there will be a partition of the West Bank.

the soldier does not voice specific

complaints. So, the commander

asked, wby is it so bad? "At home,

I never cat breakfast. I can sleep

through the morning, and do not

have to awaken to the reality of

another day."

In so doing, the Likud is essentially going against the 30-yearold organizing principle of the party, as evidenced by the resignation - on principle - of Science Minister Ze'ev (Benny) Begin. These dramatic facts loom larger than the fine print of the accord, and are explained by the Likud that it is doing so not out of enthusiasm but due to lack of choice, or as Mordechai's story makes clear, a recognition of an Oslo reality. Yet, the odyssey has not just been the government's odyssey. It has been Netanyahu's personal odyssey from someone who campaigned, even while in office, against Oslo but this week nudged it forward significantly by giving it a more bipartisan base. The prime minister's learning

curve was steep, given the fact that in an interview with this inal in an interview with this reporter during his run for pre-miership, Netanyaha demonstrat-ed ignorance of key aspects of Oslo II, suggesting that he never read the agreement.

This transition was certainly not easy. His flexibility was driven by his sense of seeking to escape Israel's regional and international isolation that hit home as a result. of the Hasmonean tunnel affair Joseph's Tomb issue would be lation. Israel could now not walk dency and lack of allies which

indicated that he would not commit to serious negotiations on Hebron. This was punctuated by gratuitous statements that aggravated Palestinians such as constant public denigration of Oslo even though Netanyahu admitted that the government would adhere to it. Taken together, it created deepening suspicion among the . Palestinians that Netanyahu was not serious about peace and set the backdrop for the fighting. While some Israelis still believe

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the violence would be cooled. The

that Arafat secretly called for violence when he asked Palestinians to demonstrate, GSS head Ami Ayalon has made it clear that the intelligence community does not think so. One US official said, "the tuanel-

and the violence was a wake-up. Until then, he was playing around with the Palestinian issue. He was not serious about it. The Palestinians felt disillusioned, were being used for photo-ops, deflecting pressure from the Europeans and Arabs. There was no movement on any issue, and the Israeli bureaucracy was instructed to avoid contact with Palestinians," Ed US Consul-General

Abington recalled, "the lowest point came the night after Israeli soldiers were killed at Joseph's Tomb. There was a late-night cab-Arafat emerged, believing that he met meeting. I was with Arafat, had the upper hand by winning and there was concern that Israel broader international support. could send troops into Nablus which would lead to widescale returned home as a person who, in bloodsbed. During the cabinet the words of one negotiator, "now meeting, Netanyahu would not dug himself in a hole. Without an return Arafat's phone call, but agreement, he could not get out of his international and regional iso-Arafat did get through to General Uzi Dayan and told him that the

Signed, sealed

resolved, and be would ensure that away from Hebron."

message was passed on to Netanyahu. Luckily the cabinet did not call for action. The whole The post-tunnel negotiations were in full throttle from October and Netanyahu turned to the US peace process could have all colpeace team for an extra push. It lapsed that night," Abington said. The subsequent White House was a curious combination since Netanyahu had been angered by summit ended as Netanyahu took the peace team while running for a position that violence could not prime minister, charging they were behind Clintoo's support for be rewarded and therefore he Shimon Peres. Netanyahu found would make no concession under out that when there was trust pressure. This tough stance was between Yitzhak Rabin, Peres, and well received at home, but it cost him Jordan, as King Hussein Arafat, the US role was relatively emerged bitter at the summit's minor, serving little more as an encee for peace-signing cere-monies. In contrast, when there results. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who thumbed his nose at President Clinton by boycotting was no trust between Israel and the summit, was vindicated. the Palestinians, the US would Clinton was constrained due to the assume the role that Secretary of impending US elections, but the State Madeleine Albright has coined for the US: "The indispenssummit did not bode well for their ties in the months ahead. Finally able nation."

Undoubtedly, the US had suf-fered regional setbacks during 1996 as evidenced by a new Taken together, Netanyahu Islamic government in Turkey, bombing of US forces in Saudi Arabia, and Saddam Hussein's gain of Kurdish enclaves in northem Iraq. But curiously, it would be the Netanyahu government depen-

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would demonstrate to the world that there is no replacement for Washington in the Middle East. Once talks began in earnest in October, another interesting dynamic became evident. While Israel could not walk from the talks, the US could and did threaten to leave. On four occasions US special Middle East peace eovoy Dennis Ross made it clear that he would leave. Ross, whose presence here on the ground for almost a total of two months represented both the unprecedented deepening of US involvement in the talks and, curiously, the Middle-Easternization of American behavior. This market-like approach of

threatening to walk out seemed far from the striped-pants approach of Foggy Bottom diplomats or the calm academic demeanor of Ross himself, but it was effective in convincing Arafat, and sometimes Netanyahu, that the US was seri-OUS.

If op to the tunnel affair consotuted the end of the first phase of Israeli-Palestinian ties, the second phase probably concluded at the end of November. By the end of **Continued on Page 11**

M UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA

ETHICS, LAW AND COMMUNICATION IN AN ERA OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND EXTREMISM

An Examination of the Boundaries of Liberty and Tolerance in Liberal Democracies

IN MEMORY OF

PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN University of Haifa, Safdie Auditorium 28-31 January 1997

Tuesday, 28 January 1997

14:00 Opening Session

Chairperson: Prof. Ephraim David Dean, Faculty of Humanities, University of Haifa

Prof. Eli Barnavi, Department of History, Tel-Aviv University Political Assassination: A Historian's Perspective

Prof. Myriam Yardeni, Department of History, University of Haifa The Problem of Violence in the Wars of Religion in France (1562-1598)

Prof. Harvey Chisick, Department of History, University of Haifa

The Dual Threat to Modern Citizenship: Non-Consensual Activism and Liberal Indifference

Prof. Arnon Gutfeld, Department of History, Tel-Aviv University Loyalty, Treason and Sedition in the United States During Crisis Times

Dr. Ron Robin, Department of History, University of Haifa Professors as Propagandists: Liberal Democracies vs. Totalitarianism in the Reeducation Program for German POWs During W.W.II

17:30 Session in Commemoration of the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

Chairperson: Dr. Raphael Cohen-Almagor, Chairperson, Conference Committee

Mrs. Leah Rabin MK. Shimon Peres Prof. Yehuda Hayuth, President, University of Haifa

> **Keynote Lecture Prof. Frederick Schauer** Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University: The Cost of Communicative Tolerance

Conference Dinner

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FEATURES

The ax has fallen

While some settlers acknowledge there is now nothing to wait for but the messiah, others aim to keep up the struggle. Herb Keinon reports

inhas Wallerstein, the chairman of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, closed an emergency meeting of the council's plenum Tuesday night with the singing of "Ani Ma'amin." "I have perfect faith in the coming of the messiah.

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Some could argue there was a great deal of symbolism in Wallerstein's choice of song – that it reflects the settlement movement's faith that, in the final analysis, God is on their side, and all will work out in the end.

Others could say there was some-thing slightly pathetic about Wallerstein singing "Ani Ma'amin" before "Hatikva": that it was acknowledgment that after years of struggle and sacrifice to create incontrovertible facts on the ground, the settlers - as Jews have throughout the millennia - were left with nothing but to wait for the messiah

At two emergeocy meetings of the council this week - one with just the members of the secretariat, and one with 200 representatives from all the settlements - it was made clear that the settlement movement is at a crucial fork in the road. What marked both meetings was that only little was said about Hebron. Redeployment was taken as a given. The bulk of the debate was about further redeployment, and the concern that this would sound the death knell for the settlements

"Why did we call an emergency meeting?" Kiryat Arba activist Elyakim Ha'etzni asked the plenum Tuesday night. "Because what is about to happen is the partitioning of Israel. The Likud goveroment is going to partition

Settlement leaders throughout the week spoke in terms of having been deceived. The feeling up until this week, said Aryeh Ofri, the head of the Samaria Regional Council, was that Prime Minister Netanyahu would - because he had oo choice - indeed go through with the redeployment from Hebron. But that he would then stop there. The settlement council convened emergency meetings because of the fear that by committing to the further redeployment stages, Netanyahu had sealed the fate of the other settlements as well.

Had Labor been the party pulling the troops out of Hebron, there is little doubt that the streets would be reverberating with protest

"If the agreement is approved, everything is lost," Ha'etzni told the secretariat at its meeting Monday afternoon. "Who is going to invest \$80,000 to \$100,000 in a settlement when he knows that around him everything is brown [the color of Palestinian autonomous regions on government maps]. People will not invest. You can say what you want about Jews, but they are not stupid."

Ha'etzni represents the right wing of the settlement council. Council director-general Ahari. Domb, representing the council's "pragmatic" wing, tried to temper Ha'etzni's assessment, arguing that not everything is black and white": that the reality, as harsh as it may be, is not as bad as some would have it appear. But even Domb would agree that if Netanyahu hands over to the Palestinians in the further stages as much land as they will likely demand - with or without the American letter of clarification then the settlements, though they may not be uprooted, will certainly have nowhere to grow. But this is a big "if." Yinon Ahimon, head of the Efrat Local

Council, said that rather than fighting the government, the council should make sure the government gives to the Palestinians only the barest minimum during the next three redeployment stages. But, according to Arych Tsur, head of the Gaza Coast Regional Council, there is no reason in the world to think Netanyahu won't give in to American and Palestinian pressure. Ever since Camp David, Tsur said, whenever there has been a difference of interpretation between Arab and Israeli versions of an agreement, the Arab version has always won out.

AFTER THE council's two emergency meetings, and hours of consultations between the settlement leaders themselves, the couocil came out only with declarative statements against the accords, and various threats. But nothing operative. Had Labor been the party pulling the troops out of Hebron, there is little doubt that the streets would be reverberating with



part ways

must operate.

University's school of education.

of a prime minister who said before

the elections that he will continue

with the Oslo agreements, and who

protest. That this is not the case reflects the council's dilemma. On the one hand the council worked hard for Netanyahu's elec-

tion; prayed for his election. They realize that this government is the best alternative, and that to bring down the government would be to shoot itself in the foot. Yet on Ron Nahman who said that the settlement leaders should resign en masse to pressure the government, Katz got up and said simply: "We can do everything. But in the final analysis, the reality is what deter-mines. It is from this reality that we the other hand they want to send a

message to the government that, as one council official put it, "they cannot do everything they want." The council is split between those who want to take a pragmatic approach, continuing working with the government in the hope that they can influence its policies; and those who believe that as a - according to Katz - won the elec-tion precisely because he said he . result of the Hebron agreement, the council and the government should

would continue with the Oslo Ya'acov Katz, an Alon Shvut res-DIOCESS ident and pollster at Bar-Ilan

"Today, public opinion is not with us," Katz said. "Forty-nine presented the "pragmatic" approach at the meeting Tuesday night. Amid Ha'etzni's fire, and the brimstone of percent of the public is in favor of leaving Palestinian population areas." When this brought jeers and calls of "we can lead public opin-ion." Karnei Shomron Local Council head Yehuda Lieberman said to Katz, "don't confuse them with facts."

The other approach, the approach that won the most applause, was that of Yosef Artziel, a rabbi from And the reality he described was Kedumim and one of the core Gush Emunim activists from the 1970s. "When we fought and struggled, we were respected. But when we are nice, they spit on us. Because we are so nice and sweet, the prime

minister and the cabinet are spitting on us," he said.

Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

Referring to the heady days of Gush Emunim, Artziel said, "We were a core group of seven people, and led the whole country after us. We knew what we had to do. We knew what was good for Israel, and what we had to do. And we know today, like we knew then." Indicative of the council, is that

while Katz was jeered, and Elitzur was applauded, in the final analysis Katz woo out.

The council issued a statement calling on the government to reject the accords, but stopping far short of adopting any of the various protest options that were suggested. The council put its pragmatic foot forward.

Shahor: Arafat has a script and uses Ben-Gurion as an example

Major-General Oren Shahor, the government's coordinator of activities in the territories, was the only Israeli who negotiated on behalf of both the Labor- and Likud-led governments. In an interview with Arieh O'Sullivan and Jon Immanuel, Shahor, who negotiated

The Palestinians had this lack of trust. There was this problematic relationship which had to be built up in stages, and the Palestinians said they want to be sure that there is a continuation of the process beyond Hebron.

Is there an agreement on the amount of territory to be given to the Palestinians?

Not at all. You have to understand that there was not even a dis-cussion oo the third pullback. Anyway, it is not up for discussion with the Palestinians, although we should still inform them. But according to the interim agreement it is our decision. It is a unilateral decision



this is having an effect on the Palestinian economy. Today the situation is better and

we are feeling it. The problems are the fluctuations when there is a terror attack. I am one of those who thinks that we don't need foreign workers. This has a lot of bad repercussions and I think we have to allow more and more

Palestinians to become involved to the Israeli economy. This also pro-

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the civilian arrangements in the Hebron deal, assesses Yasser Arafat, Palestinian negotiators and the likelihood of Palestinian statehood

ow do you compare the methods of negotiment the previous government and the present government?

A. The methods are the same be it Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres or the present prime minister. I can tell you that the present prime minister was very much involved in the civilian negotiations.

Could you perceive o difference in the negotiations methods of the Polestinians ofter our change of government?

The problem was one of faith. The more communication and acquaintance you have helps. The only one who remained from the that there won't be a sense of a

DATES:

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.... I......

previous group was me. Yes, the Palestinians thought I was a bridge and had experience. Was there a change in the meth-

KENYAGAFARI

also ensures the municipal services of the city of Hebron and defines very well what is permissible and what is not. The Palestinian side ods of negotiations between Hebron 1 and Hebron 2? There was oo Hebron 1. The tried to open the agreement a numinterim agreement dealt with ber of times after we concluded it. Hebron in two pages, and [in We did not open it. It is an agree-Hebron 2] we dealt with a lot of ment which is certainly and issues. I had to deal with the transunequivocally better than the prefer of 40 authorities, from agriculvious one. There are more details. Did the link the Palestinians ture to transportation and more. Every matter is a world unto itself. make between the redeployment in Hebron and the further rede-Hebron was just part of it. What are you proud of in the

ployment cause any difficulties civilian ogreement? It ensures for the civilian agreement which is now to be implemented?

stranglehold on the Jewish settle-

ment in Hebron. This agreement

Yasser Arafat speaks of 80 per-

cent of the territory? First of all it can't be 80 percent. Arafat is speaking of what he wants and that has no bearing. The only thing which holds is what has already been handed over, which is 27 percent which was transferred with various jurisdictions, including area A and the populated areas which include the village area. We are not talking of agreement but understandings of a continu-

ity? The matter has not been discussed. The only matter concerning the final arrangement was a single ceremonial meeting before the elections, and an agenda wasn't even set there.

Many say the closure is causing economic hardships. What is your position

On one hand the closure helps in solving the security problems since it deters some of the terrorists. It is easier to see who is here and who is not. It does not hermetically prevent attacks. If someone wants to slip through he can. Except for the case in which a terrorist slipped through at Karni Crossing and went on to carry out the Dizengoff bombing, the closure had a deterreot effect on attacks.

On the other hand, there is the Paris agreement which calls for freedom of commerce, even though in the interim agreement we put in a clause stating any secu-

managing directors: Onta & Dov Hazan-

Friday

Saturday

Sunday-Thursday

VIEWING



uproot. Those who spoke of this knew h would be a matter of years and not days to transform the economic order. There are tens of thousands of workers - 50,000 legal in Israel plus 13,500 in industrial zones, and then take into account the tens of thousands of illegal workers slipping in from Judea and Samaria. I think we have over 80,000 workers and the situation is much better today and

(Israel Sun)

tects the security by giving them something to lose. There is a balance. When we make decisions to ease the closure we are taking security risks.

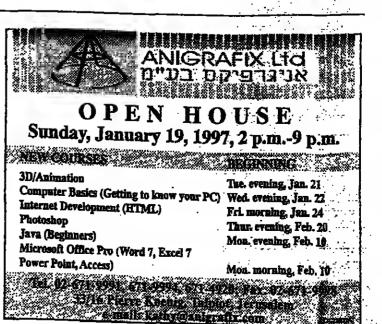
Some groups in Isroel, like the Bnvironment Ministry, are against some industrial zones? In general the industrial zones are very important. They employ people, including those from the territories, and also allow for work to continue even if there is a closure. They also create an interaction between Israelis and Palestinians which is positive. We have to examine if they are harmful to the environment in some places, but in general they are welcomed.

How does the military deal with the Palestinian economic dependence on Israel at a time when more and more Palestinian forces are emerging in the territories? The Palestinian forces are

intended to maintain order on the Palestinian streets. The weapons are given out to keep public order. Last September's incidents were a gross violation of the agreement which almost brought about a rift due to the use of weapons against IDF soldiers. We expect the Palestinian police to deal with terror, but it is not just the Palestinian police but also the security services who are really doing something.

Regarding the war on terror, do you have proof that the Palestinians have foiled terror? Yes, there is close cooperation between the Palestinian and Israeli security services. This is no secret.

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Shahor: The Palestinians lacked trust. rity matter can affect the free movement in the crossings. But I have no doubt that the inability of the Palestinians to get to work in Israel and the inability to earn a living even when they do make it

into Israel, as well as the growing unemployment, creates a greater potential for a violent eruption in the territories. A Palestinian economy which is

AUCTION No. 53

24.1.97 at 14.00

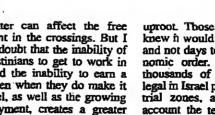
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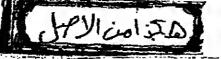
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dependent on Israel is not easy to





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HEBRON **Continued from Page 9**

Palestinians to temper their demands, and invited Moussa to visit Israel. Moussa saw this as an opportunity to become a full-fledged mediator, and enthusiastically told Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak so. However, once the level of the misunderstanding became clear upon his return to Jerusalem, Netanyahu sent his loyal foreign pol-icy aide Dore Gold to clarify the situation in Cairo.

During the last six weeks, Egypt envisaged its own role as not only being Arafat's confidant, but ultimately as being more pious than the pope of Palestinian nationalism. Egypt was not only driven by a f regional

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credit for clinching these talks. bab, Mordechai remarked, "I will Jordan deserved the credit and Egypt not have the entire Middle East go up in flames for a single shack in did not." However, if Mubarak did one sin-Hebron," At one point during the last gle thing right during these last few few weeks, Mordechai was frustratmonths, it was inviting Mordechai for a meeting and giving him reded by the stalemate in negotiations.

Against the advice of his advisers carpet treatment. This meeting was a who, said it was not keeping with personal turning point for protocol, Mordechai showed up Mordechai, as he emerged from the unannounced at one session of the peace talks, insisting that top mili-tary officials Lt.-Gen. Armoo Shahak and Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz meeting as virtually the "true believer" of the peace process. In Rabinesque form, Mordechai looked

"I will not have the entire Middle East go up in flames for a single shack in Hebron."

--Yitzhak Mordechai

even without explicit mention of hot

pursuit and perhaps even because of

its absence - that the two sides could

at the peace process not through join him and help break the dear

work together. Mordechai's mantra is "only normal living" will enable peace to work, as stringent measures often only create greater antagonism. Arafat appreciated Mordechai's opening of Hebron University and the road around Netzarim, closed for two years, as evidence that he is seri-

Yet, the Friedman shooting left a mark not just with Mordechai, but also had a boomering impact on the peace process - an act done ostensibly to prevent an assertion of Arab rights strengthened them. Specifically, on the night before the Friedman shooting, Israeli, Egyptian, and American diplomats confirm that the Palestinians were willing to accept language that would avoid a fixed date for a third pullback and focus just on the first one. Yet, after th hoot-

Borrowing a page out of Netanyahu's book, the Palestinians call this idea "reciprocity," In return, having begun these talks with bravado, Neuanyahu ended them by using Arafat-style "strength of the weak" arguments, which the latter has employed with great skill since the start of the Oslo talks in 1993. Now, given the problems in his own cabinet, the Palestinians must help Netanyahu.

Has the Hebron experience created trust which will carry this process forward? One official in the Prime Minister's Office said, 'I don't know about trust, but after Hebron, everybody is more realistic." For Mordo:hai and his proverbial soldier, this new mundset is a crucial foundation block in facing the inevitable problems ahead. Realizing that Erckat could not be pried loose on the Palestinian

Savir: Netanyahu fails to reap benefits of Oslo

The architect of the accords believes that despite the PM's misinterpretations, a final pact will be reached, Steve Rodan reports

s Foreign Ministry director-general during the Rabin and Peres governments. Uri Savir spent hundreds of hours in negotiations with Palestinians and concluded two interim agreements that will direct Israel until at least 1999.

Israel until at least 1999. Today, as a private citizen, Savir says Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's Likud-led govern-ment is misinterpreting the accords completely, paying the price of withdrawal without gain-ing any of the benefits of Palestinian-Israeli conciliation. For Savir, the Oslo accords rep-resented links more than a psychoresented linke more than a psychological tool for building trust with the Palestimans without Israel conceding anything that would

crode its strategic strength. The architects of Oslo, he says, operated under a cardinal rule; Never leave the initiative to others.

"They [the Netanyahu government] treat the agreement with more importance than we did," Savir says, "The real gains of Oslo did not come from the Palestinians. It opened doors with Jordan and the Arab world because we were seen as leading the process and not being dragged through it."

And this is Netanyahu's main problem, Savir says. Because the prime minister's concessions are purely the result of pressure. Israel loses any chance of gaining Arab goodwill required for the peace process to bear political and economic achievements. "I worry that the Arabs think that they got this agreement because of pressure on Netanyahu," Savir says, "In the past, we achieved things through

partnership." Savir vividly recalls the 1995 Oslo II agreement on further IDF



Savir: Netanyahu's concessions are due to pressure. We achieved through partnership . A. Jerozolanski

following the January 1996 elecuons, the IDF would withdraw from most of the West Bank. They spoke of 75 percent of the West Bank after the third redcployment," Savir says, "We said there should not be a percentage listed in the agreements. This was the hardest part of the battle but [former prime ministers] Peres and Rabin insisted."

Savir stresses that all of the further redeployments would be determined by Israel and not subject to negotiations. But he said the Peres government had planned to negotiate the third redeploy-meot to ensure Palestinian cooperation

Even after the final further redeployment Savir says Israel would have remained in large parts, although not most of, the West Bank. Israeli pullbacks would have been coordinated with IDF redeployments: three stages of aceds to maintain security over its withdrawal that would take place installations and Jewish settle-in September 1996 and end a year ments. This would have included

according to negotiators, felt that if the Palestinians would dig in, the stalemate would so deepen Israel's regional isolation that the result would be that Netanyabo would have no choice but to turn to Shimon Peres and form a unity government. However, like their brothers in

Damascus during the Golan talks, Cairo overplayed its hand. The most egregious example was when Mubarak went on Egyptian television and said that Arafat could not accept a compromise when it came to the Ibrahimi Mosque (the Tomh of the Patriarchs). In fact, Oslo II made clear that this issue would only come up three months after Hebron. However, like Netanyahu, Mubarak apparently never read the agreement. Ross, however, made pilgrimages

to Cairo in a bid to ask the Egyptians to use its influence with the Palestimians to bring the negotiations to an end. However, as during past trips, the visit last Sanuday appeared to have limited value. Television cameras at Mubarak's palace caught the Egyptians and Americans looking glumly at each other. Yet Ross would not take the ultimate step when it came to Cairo, namely publicly blaning Egypt for the dead lock. As one American official put it "Let's face it. The Egyptians basically played an obstructionist role in these talks. Last Sannday was a wasted day in Cairo. There was a genuine sense of sweet justice that King Hussein and not Egypt got the

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rose-cinted glasses, but rather as the lock. essential condition for halting the region from sliding to violence. For Mordechai, this was partly personal. During the visit to Egypt, he told aides, Thave not been back to Egypt since the Yom Kippur War when I saw my comrades die on Egyptian soil. I want to move forward to peace because I cannot forget those killed

here. After his trip, Mordechai put the Hebron issue in a regional context. In a specific reference to a problematic Jewish house in the Hebron cas-

Together in prayer

t the time of the original Oslo handshake in 1993, the London-based Arabic daily al-Havat voiced glee that the "four rabbis of the State Department" were not part of the secret deal in Norway, alluding to the four Jewish members of the US peace team led by Dennis Ross.

To the Arabs' surprise, there certainly have been been ups and downs between the US team and Binyamin Netanyahu dating back to the Bush administration. However, one incident during the last couple of weeks came closest yet to the fantasies of al-Hayat.

During a late-night negotiating session at the home of US ambassador Martin Indyk, Aaron Miller, Ross's bright and longtime top deputy. wanted to say kaddish for his mother, who recently died in Cleveland. (Just before her death, Aaron's mother was saluted by Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Ohnert in Cleveland for lifetime of devotion to the Jewisb people. I This was the night where the security details of Hebroo were finalized, and Defense Minister Mordechai was in attendance.

A break was taken in the talks. Ross, Indyk, and US legal adviser Jonathan Schwartz joined Mordechai and other Israelis in making a minyan so Miller could say kaddish. The Palestinian negotiators looked on, with apparent respect. D.M.

ing, Arafat dug in his heels. Arafat, who thrives on brinkman-

Mordechai's biggest test came after the Hebron shooting spree of Noam Friedman. Instead of elampship in general, thought he gained leverage in the wake of Friedman, and could therefore act upon his susing an indefinite curlew on Hebron, Mordechai rushed to the spot and picion that Netanyahu wanted to within hours insisted the city be skip to the final-status talks. Moreover, he took statements made allowed to return to normal. He offered Hebron Mayor Mustafa by Israeli officials to Israeli newspapers as evidence that he had every right to be suspicious about Israeli Natshe his helicopter if it was needed to transport the injured. The Friedman shooting demonstrated intentions.

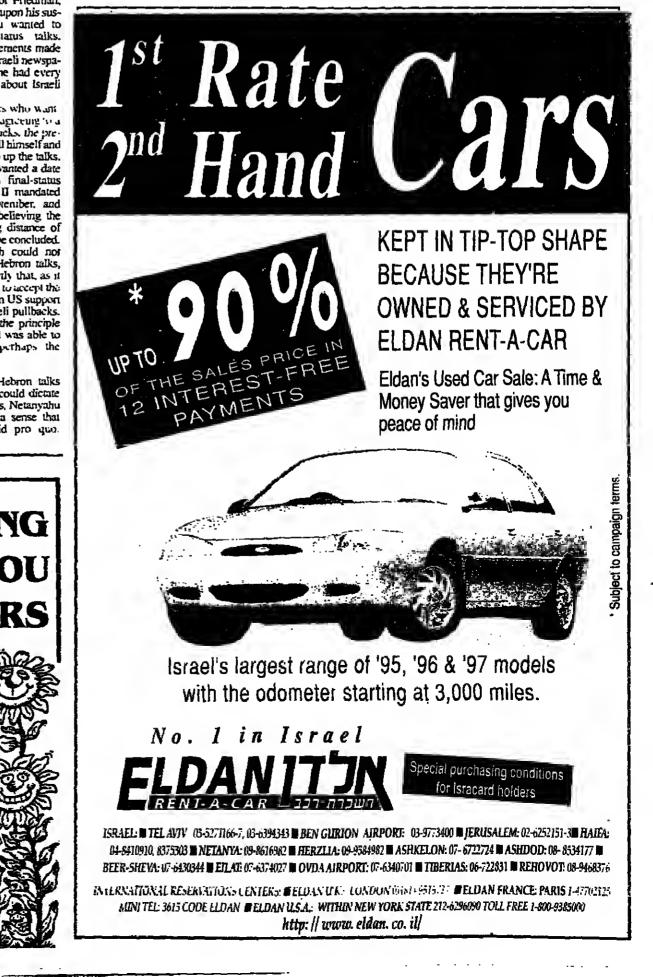
Despite some advisers who want ed Netanyahu to avoid agreeung 'wa fixed date on the pullbacks, the pre-mier made the tough call himself and felt it was time to wrap up the talks. However, Netanyshu wanted a date that was closer to a final-status accord than the Oslo II mandated timetable of this September, and agreed on mid-1998, believing the date is within blurring distance of when a final deal is to be concluded. Unlike Israel, which could not walk away from the Hebron talks, the US threatened exactly that, as if pressed the Palestinians to accept the terms, noting that it won US support for all three future Israeli pullbacks. The Palestinians won the principle of pullbacks, but Israel was able to modify tining and pethaps the scope.

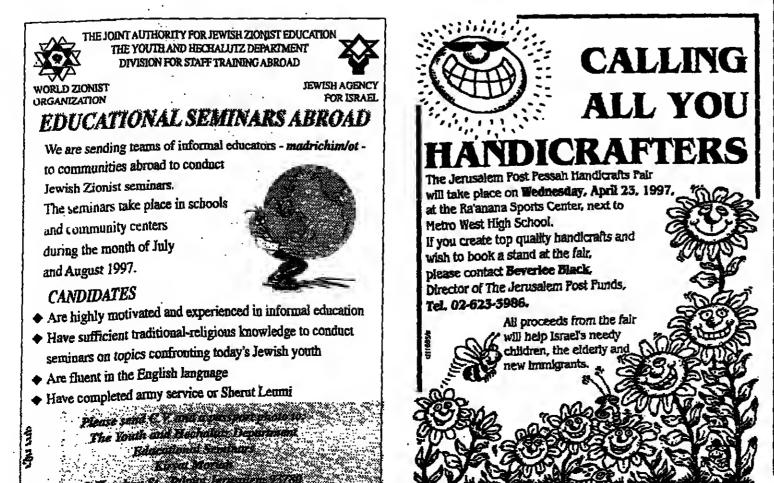
Having begun the Hebron talks with a feeling that he could dictate terms to the Palestinians, Netanyahu concluded them with a sense that there must be a quid pro quo.

Israel yielded on the explicit language of reentry and a second phase of the Hebron talks were completed.

later. The original Palestinian maintaining Israeli control in demand, derived from the Declaration of Principles, was that

Continued on Page 20





FEATURES

Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

Justice for all

The role of the attorney-general is one of the most powerful positions in the state,

Amy Klein reports

n one week, the nomination of an attorney-general failed appointment, one question stands out above the rest: Who cares?

One would hope the answer is: everybody. The position of attorney-general is one of the most powerful, pivotal roles in the state, with influence over national, criminal and civil affairs.

But the fact that the attorneygeneral's responsibilities stem more from tradition rather than legislation is what has sparked the current debate over the role of the job - as well as the demand for new legislation.

"The role of the attorney-general has a very long history, says Hebrew University political science professor Ahraham Diskin. "It's not something that they thought about and made a law. In reality, a large part of the attorneygeneral's duties developed because of the personality of the person," he says.

IT ALL started in 1948 after the notorious Tubiansky affair. Meir Tuhiansky, in a secret trial held by fellow Hagana members, was executed on the false charge of spyiog. When Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro, Israel's first attorneygeneral, fought prime minister David Ben-Gurioo for the right to prosecute the perpetrators, he fought for the attorney-general's sole right to bring all cases to prosecutioo.

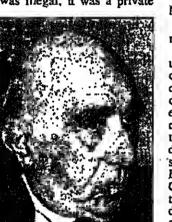
Nine attorneys-general and almost 50 years later, the attorneygeoeral's duties can be divided into three arenas: As chief prosecutor, the attorney-general decides which criminal cases will go to trial; as government defender, the attorney-general defends the government on all charges, and it is his legal counsel which serves as the basis for all the government's actions; and as representative of the public, the attorney-general



Ya'acov Shimshoni Shapiro (David Rubinger)

Yo'acov Shimshoni Shapiro (1948-1950) A trial lawyer by profession and one of the founders of the Labor movement, Shapiro was appointed attorney-general upon the founding of the state. He clashed with Ben-Gurion over the notorious Tubiansky case. Only the attorney-general can order a prosecution, Shapiro demanded, thus carving out the first niche of the attorney-general. He later served as justice minister under Levi Eshkol and Golda Meir. He died in 1993 at the age of 91.

Hoim Cohn (1950-1960) A learned haredi who hecame secular before he took office, Cohn important definitions set between religion and state in his term as attorney-general (and later as Supreme Court Justice), most importantly, his refusal to prosecute homosexuals on the grounds that though it was illegal, it was a private



The attorneys-general:



Gideon Hausner (Karen Benzian)



Moshe Ben Ze'ev

matter. Attorney-General Cohn took up one of the most famous trials of the century, the Kasztner case. As a prosecutor for libel oo behalf of a small-time governmeot employee, this simple case exploded loto a dehate on the labor movement's actions during the Nazi era, which is the stuff of many hooks includiog Ben Hecht's polemic, Perfidy. Coho, in taking oo the case and the appeal to overturn the defeat, set down the attorneygeneral's right to take up any

case of national interest, and



(Joel Fishman)

Meir Shamgar

Gideon Housner (1960-1963) Hausner was the prosecutor in the Eichmann case. Because of the clash with the minister of justice, the Agranat Commission was set up 10 distinguish the powers of the attorney-geoeral and the minister of justice, which made the attorney-general independent of the minister of justice in all matters of criminal prosecution; it also set out the duties of the attorney-general.

Moshe Ben Ze'ev (1963-68) was a Haifa district judge.

Meir Shamgar (1968-1975) Served as the head military prosecotor and judicial adviser to the security system.

Shamgar later weot on to become president of the Supreme Court.

Aharon Barak (1965-1978) A professor of law at the Hehrew University, Barak's involvemeot on the Camp David accords set a precedeot for the Barak's initiative to launch a"

criminal investigation into the Rahio foreign bank-account affair (which led to Yitzhak Rabin's resignation) characterized the attorney-general as

public prosecutor agaiost the

Barak is now the presideot of

government.

the Supreme Court.

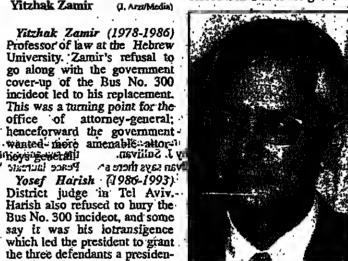


the issue of deportations allowed the Rabin government to circumvent the Fourth Geneva Convention laws and "temporarily" expel 418 terror-ists from Israel. In 1986 Harish's decision was

not to prosecute the bank-shares scandal, and it was during his term that Supreme Court began to intervene on the attorneygeneral's decisions.

Michael Ben-Yair (1993-1996) A district judge in Tel. Aviv.

Likud charged him with "political motivations," in his indictment of Ya'acov Ne'eman, among others. By not consulting with Ben-Yair over various matters, Prime Minister Netanyaho broke the traditioo (but not the law) of the relationship between the government and the attorney-geoeral. and Leaving the attorney-geoeral bot of the loop effectively forced Ben Yair to resign, A.K.



Harish's' recommendations' on Michael Ben-Yair (Elaha Harai)

for the presidential pardon the three defendants received before

the investigation, Harish says: "I didn't know about [the presiden-tial pardon] until it happened. They must have planned it for weeks; it was a done deal."

Harish says that on the night when President Chaim Herzog granted the pardon, they came to him to ask if it was legal to grant a pardon before a case takes place.

When Harish pointed out that if they were innocent then they could stand trial and there was no need for immunity, he was told, "You are not an adviser on the morals of the government, or how it will look from an ethical point. The question is: can you grant mmunity to people not yet convicted?

Harish, in accordance with the mandate of his position to remain true to the law, said yes, provided the people had confessed. "There was a small conspiracy against

me," he claimed. At the time, Professor Kremnitzer told reporters that the position of the attorney-general "has been seriously damaged by [last week's] events." This is the main reason for the furor behind Bar-On's political appointment. Even though the joh of attorney-general requires impartiality, it is not the first time a person with political connections was appointed to the office.

Shapiro and Hausner both had some sort of political alliance before they served as attorney-general. But the legacy of the Zamir deadlock is that, "The govermment wants to put a rag as the attomey-general," says Diskin.

Whether it is true that Bar-On's affiliation would have affected his impartiality is irrelevant, because as the Agranat report says: "Pethaps the greatest danger lies in the possibility of creating an appearance of political pressure...."

The call for an impartial opinion of the attorney-general reflects every aspect of the job: In matters of criminal decisions (to suspend or hold a trial) the attorney-general decides alone; he is not under the jurisdiction of the minister of justice (for administrative matters, he is). Nor is the Knesset allowed to force him to change his opinion. They must fire him like they dithin the Zamir case. "And while these opinions do not have the force of law, it has always been the proper practice to follow their guidance..." concludes the Agranat



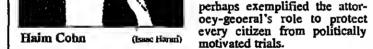
has the right to interfere in any trial that can hurt the national or public interest.

Wheo attorney-general Haim Cohn decided to prosecute the libel case of a lower-level government employee, Rudolf Kasztner in the 1950s, he was exercising the attorney-general's right to interfere in cases where the national interest was at stake. (What Cohn did not know was that this case would turn into the "trial of the century," striking at the core of the Labor movement's labeling as collaborators in the Holocaust).

After the defeat, when Cohn took the case to the Supreme Court, Cohn was exercising his right to defend an individual

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defined - if oot the details - the against a politically motivated government. nature of the position: "In the

The attorney-general's powers, structure of the job there is a conoriginally based on the role of the tradiction between the role of the British attorney-general and codiadviser and the prosecutor," says fied in 1962 hy the Supreme Professor Mordechai Kremnitzer, Court's Agranat Commission, pro-Dean of Law at the Hebrew vided only a basic guideline; and University. It is a delicate like the Kasztner case, each attortightrope to walk. ney-general's implementation put And this is where the issue of the laws to the test. The Agranat Commission

qualificatioos and character which resulted in such a hefty cost in the Bar-On affair - come into play. According to the law, the only requirement for an attoroeygeneral is that he be worthy of being made a member of the Supreme Court (the basic requirement for that is to have served as a judge for 10 years); hut the report holds that in the nature of the job, "The exercise of the prosecutor's discretion is even more important than the content of a penal code as

tial pardon.

a force in the administration of criminal justice." "The attorney-general must be a person who is completely inde-

pendent with good knowledge of the law," says Judge Asher Felix Landau, who served as the deputy state attorney under Haim Cohn, Israel's second attorney-general. "Haim Cohn was completely independent, impartial, decisive, fair," Landau recalls. "He strove to defend the state as law, not just getting them off. He didn't let the state take advantage of people."

Aharon Barak (Efraim Kilkhtok)

1.10

Yitzhak Zamir

IT IS the not-so-recent and recently reopened story of the Bus No. 300 incident that captures the crucial but awkward role of the attor-

ney-general. In June 1984 when two GSS officers killed two Palestinian terrorists without a trial, it was attorney-general Yitzhak Zamir who headed the investigation into the govern-ment's cover-up. His refusal to back down from the investigation led to his dismissal.

The new attorney-general, Yosef Harish, didn't prove as malleable as the government had hoped; he also refused to shelve the investigation. In response to this week's accusations against Harish that he was involved in drafting the plea

In addition to the political manipulations of the government, the integrity of the office has been lowered even further by the interference of the Supreme Court over attorney-general's decisions, says Diskin. One of the first reversals of the

attorney-general's decision by the Supreme Court came in 1988 with the bank-shares scandal - when Harish decided there should be no prosecution. Since then, the Supreme Court's interference over the attorney-general's decisioo have become a fairly regular affair.

How can the attorney-general's position be reestablished as the impartial watchdog it once was? National Religious Party MK Shaul Yahalom's new bill tries, essentially by changing the selec-

tion committee. The committee will be that of the judge selection committee together with the prime minister and the Knesset chairman.

Also, by limiting the term which until now was unlimited of the attorney-general to five years without the option of the Knesset firing him (except in the event of his committing a criminal act) this removes the political pressure of providing opinions that are acceptable to the government.

Another proposal for restoring integrity to the job is to divide it in 1 two: government legal comset/detender for the government, as separate from the state prosecutor. Kremnitzer supports this proposal. "There is no doubt that it is a very crowded job; you cannot stand as head prosecution and the counsel at the same time, he says.

Perhaps if in 1992 - when attorney-general Yosef Harish provided the Rabin government with the legal grounds to deport 418 Palestinians - the two jobs were separate, then the decision would not have been implementeđ.

But there are many who are against the proposal of separating the office, including Yahalom, who claims that the prosecutor, no. longer serving as adviser, will not know what is going on. The separation of powers will

leave the attorney-general without his powers," concludes the law regarding the proposal. "It will bring down the status of the attorney-general," says Yahalom.

The bill will not go to vote before they choose the next storney-general, Yahalom says, but Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon promised him he would look into voting on it soon

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Technion Symphony Orchestra and Choir Atlas Camerata Immigrants Professional Orchestra Prof. Dalia Atlas - Music Director End of Winter Semester Concert, 1997

Popular Classical Music - Tuesday, January 21, at 8 p.m. Churchill Auditorium, Technion City

> Conductor: Prof. Dalia Atlas Soloist: Noam Yosefi, piano

Israeli songs for wind instruments, conducted by students in the Conductors' Class of Prof. Dalia Atlas

	Egmont
-	Divertimento
	Finlandla
_	Rhapsody in Blue
_	Rhapsody in Blue Hallelujah
	-

The opera, La Boheme, by Puccini, In a full production at the Technion, with soloists, orchestra and choir, will be shown on Matav Cable TV - Channel 9. Conductor: Prof. Dalia Atlas Sunday, January 26 and Sunday, February 2, at 8 p.m.

Conducting Class

Registration has commenced for new students for the spring semester. Students with a broad musical education accepted for study under Prof. Dalia Atlas.

Verdi's Requiem

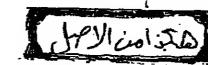
Professional singers interested in joining the Technion Choir for the performance of Verdi's Requiem, are welcome to register. The concerts will take place in June 1997.

Technion Symphony Orchestra and Choir, Technion City, Haifa 32000 Tel. 04-829 2735, Fax. 04-823-1595

Frank Land

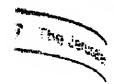
1.0. 23 The Israel Camerata Jerusalem Giving the Tone Musical Director Avner Biron. conductor **Avner Biron** The 1996-97 season Alexander Korsantia mano Tel-Aviv Museum of Art Mozart 21.1.97 ± 20.30 Piano concerto in E flat major, K. 271 Porchases of tickets through: Tel-Avit Museum of Art Haydn. Tel: 03-6961297 Symphony no. 83 in Giminor, The Hent Wix Auditorium, Rehovot 23.1.97 at 20:30 Vanghan Williams Purchases of tickets through: Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis Wix Aucennum, Tel: 08-9343207 Brahms Lotus: Tel: 08-9467890 Serenade no. 2, op 16 Henry Crown Hall, Jerusalem 25.1.97 at 20.30 Purchases of tickets through Kinim Tel: 02-6256869

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Sweeping reforms

FEATURES

Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

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GRAPEVINE

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By GREER FAY CASHMAN

nly someone as wealthy and powerful as Ma'ariv editor Ofer Nimrodi would have dared to okay the audacious cover of the paper's business magazine this week. It features a montage of Israel Corporation mogul Shoul Eisenberg doing a clean sweep of the corporation's ailing subsidiaries and trampling over the likes of Moshe Arens and Mati Morgenstern, two of the casualties of the Zim Navigation reorganization program.

ON TUESDAY night, before he went off to his post-midnight reo-dezvous with Yasser Arafat, Prime Minister. Binyamin Netanyahu hosted a reception at Jerusalem's King David hotel in bonor of Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, the first Polish prime minister to visit Israel. On Wednesday, Cimoszewicz hosted a reception at the Laromme Hotel in bonor of Netanyahu, who because of the protracted cabinet and meeting on the revised and newly hi-initialed Hebroo accord was

1. unable to attend, and some 75 minutes after the start of the reception sent his wife Sara to represent him and the whole cabinet. Netanyahu might have preferred to have his crucial cabinet meeting on another day. So presumably would Foreign Minister David Levy, who was in a rush to

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leave for the wedding of his son Eshkol to Meirav Biton. Netanyahu was also invited to join the approximately 1,000 guests attending the festivities in Afula, but due to the pressure of political developments he remained in Jernsalem and delivered his coogratulations by phone.

EXECUTION STATES

EVEN THOSE who disapproved of awarding a political activist with the positioo of attorneygeneral could oot help but sympathize with character assassination heaped on lawyer Rooi Bar-On, especially after seeing him on Dan Shilon's live talk show

on Channel 2. Keeping a tight rein on his emotioos, yet nonetheless revealing his pain, Bar-On made a valid point about Irit Linor, the self-styled eyewitness to his alleged heavy gambling.

Casino managers are extremely discreet, and none would finger anyone in his or her establishment. Bar-On elaimed not to even know the casino manager and queried how Linor had managed to meet him in the short time that she had been present.

GOOD JOURNALISTS can write on just about anything, but they usually write best about the subjects which are closest to their hearts. Both D'vora Ben Shaul and Liat Collins are intensely concerned with environmental



The front page of 'Ma'ariv's' business supplement this week shows Shoul Eisenberg sweeping away unsuccessful executives Moshe Arens and Mati Morgenstern.



issues and with the care of animals, as many Jerusalem Post readers can testify. Ben Shaul's expertise in these areas has also been widely acknowledged abroad. In recognition of their ability to use their professional talents to promote eovironmental awareness both have been named as 1996 laureates of the Life and Environment Prize. It will be awarded to them oext Thursday, which appropriately coincides with Tu Bishvar, the new year for trees. Life and Environment is a non-government umbrella organization which was founded by former MK Yosef Tamir, who is its chairman.

THE FACE of the dark-haired beauty standing in the lobby of the Jerusalem Holiday Inn seemed familiar, but it took guests a little while to realize that this was Ofra Haza taking a brief, vacation on home territory. Haza currently spends most of her time in Germany where she is recording a new alhum of songs, most of which she sings io English.

ON HAND to greet King Hussein when he arrived io Gaza this week was a black-coated, white-bearded figure from ferusalem. He was none other than Natorei Karta member what Netanyahu has now blandly Mosbe Hirsh, who is acting as the Palestioian Anthority's Minister for Jewish Affairs.

AFTER A long absence from the Broadway stage, Liza Minnelli returned last week to temporarily fill the shoes of Julie Andrews, who has taken a four-week respite from Victor Victoria. Both the cast and the audience put out the welcome mat for Minnelli, and the sustained applause after ber opening appearance was music to ber Cars.

BELIEVE IT or oot, there really is a First Wives Club in Los Angeles, and not surprisingly, it was started by a film star's ex. Maggie Eastwood, the former wife of much-married Clint Eastwood, got it going, and Hollywood has since provided a steadily increasing membership, including several ex-busbands. although there are also members with no silver-screen connec-

THE WEEK THAT WAS Midwife Ross delivers Hebron after hard labor

By MICHAL YUDELMAN

ong threatening comes at last. We think!

The Hebron agreement has managed to be "imminent," "close," "a matter of hours away" for seven months

It almost united ministers, MKs, settlers, leftists, religious, secularists, and Palestinians in unheard-of agreement - the belief that it would never really happen. Yet there it is, delivered by Knesset cesarean sections, with the help of midwife Ross, and not at all premature after seven months of Labor and other pains.

For some odd reason, no one looked happy. Ministers called it "a black day" and Ze'ev Binyamin Begin quit. Right-wing MKs sport-ed the droopy faces of people being dragged into something loathsome. Labor and Meretz MKs could barely hide their chagrin. They approved the agreement of course but swallowed bitter pills of wondering woy former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was scomed as a "traitor" and paid with his life for

delivered. "Now, when he does it, suddenly it's for the good of the state, bemoaned MK Dalia Itzik.

The signing ceremony itself dripped with eliche, not even of grand opera, but of pulp thriller. The producers knew it was an anticlimax and jazzed it up on the cheap.

First the tension was ratcheted up on the eve of Bill Clinton's inauguration by American pressure. Amid some philosophical musings about the fleeting nature of life and loan guarantees, Clinton called.

Peace envoy Dennis Ross then threatened to leave (again) if Netanyabu and Yasser Arafat didn't stop mincing about and get their heads together by Tuesday. Ross, who has probably missed seeing his children growing old since he set off on this interminable mission, made it clear he wasn't kidding this time. To make the point, he turned up at the Laromme lobby wearing khaki



Ze'ev Binyamin Begin (Israel Sun)

The appointment of Bar-On, an anonymous Likud hack, to the lofty state office of attorney-general was so ludicrous that it aroused as much opposition inside the government as outside it.

Ministers and coalition MKs resented the way Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, in cahoots with Netanyahu, "sprang" the appoint-ment on the cabinet almost as much as they were aghast at Bar-On's monumental unsuitability.

The legal hierarchy and parlia-mentarians wondered if Netanyahu and Hanegbi were trying to impose a concillieri (family lawyer) on the instice system rather than appoint a public trustee.

Once again Netanyahu, he who promised appointments based on "excellence," revealed a rare talent for picking the wrong man at the wrong time for the wrong job.

Ministers may have regretted complaining they knew nothing about Bar-On when he was appointed last Friday. By Sunday noon they knew more about him than anyone could conceivably want to, as the lean, mean and incredibly agile media did the background trawling which Hanegbi had failed to do.

SHORTCOMINGS EXPOSED

jeans, denim shirt and a sweater -real hopping-on-a-plane gear. The script next called for the Three ministers, my own buddies from the Likud, betrayed me, midnight ryst. All that was missing howled Bar-On. He went on to threaten a lawsuit against writer Irit. was a ladder or two propped against the Erez checkpoint for Cinderellafat and Prince Babi when Linor for detailing his beavy sessions at London's high-roller Ritz Casino. they met at the witching hour. How Was it really the poor chap's fault - or those who blasted him from romantic, every apolitical housewife could sigh, as the next day's obscurity to limelight? As Yediot newspapers caught the two clasp-Aharonot's star columnist Nahum ing hands, heads close together in Bamea put it: "Netanyahu ebooses some intimate confidence. people the way Roni Bar-On gam-bles in the casino. But his mistake Forgotten already was the subplot red hearing of King Hussein's does not start with a Bar-On or a dramatic visit two nights carlier. He Fishler, but with Avigdor Lieberman, the house Bolsbevik, and with Tzahi Hanegbi. These it was who thawed the ice between Netanyahu and Arafat - or so it seemed at the time. With the not with 12an ranegot. These people, instead of letting Netanyahu run the state, as he was legally elected to do, are turning him into a cruce boss " matchmaker forgotten, it was the happy couple's day, and President Bill lowered his shotgun - for the him into a gang boss." As for Hanegbi, the Bar-On affair moment proved that putting aside a revolver and bicycle chain in favor of a suit DADDY DEAREST and tie does not make one a gentle-Then there was the 12-hour battle round the cabinet table - one hopes man. Hanegbi indeed had to admit he made a mistake in selecting Bar-On, but then promptly picked a someone kept the script - as Netanyahu was cornered in turn by fight with Communications Minister Limor Livnat, who told fuming Begin, Livnat and NRP ministers. As if that wasn't quite enough, somebody's Dad had to get the cabinet Hanegbi had left her to understand that Supreme Court President Aharon Barak had involved. approved the appointment. Hanegbi had informed Barak of "It is a wise father that knows his own child" - and if Dad (Azriel Livnat) had beeded the wise Bard, the appointment but the respected he wouldn't have dragged daughter Limor out of a historic cabinet judge had not expressed any approval. Quite the contrary -Barak was disappointed and angry meeting for an "urgent" telephone call that he had oot even been consulted on the appointment of an attorney-She stormed back in the meeting. spluttering breathlessly: "I have an general. important announcement! My Dad He expressed immediate reservatold me the TV news said the tions about Bar-On and hinted that Americans will not back the Israeb he lacked front-line qualifications. interpretation of the withdrawal Barak even commented: "This method of appointment shows a clause." Ministers were stunned. The buildozer mentality derived from a prime minister paled. Advisers contempt for the opinions of a prowere summoned tout de suite. The fessional community." cabinet session was halted. However, instead of running for "Get me Ross," barked Bibi at cover until Hebron blew the storm cabinet secretary Danny Naveh. away, Hanegbi foolishly opted for a lashing-out-all-round strategy. As "Until this is cleared up, there will be no vote tonight." well as fighting with Livnat, he accused Science Minister (oops, Obviously, it was cleared up, since it was a false alarm. Thanks former minister) Benny Begin and Dad! Finance Minister Dan Meridor of "sabotaging" the Bar-On appointment. A GAMBLE TOO FAR Hanegbi viciously tore into the mild and gentlemanly Meridor -Excitement and scandal crowd "himself a political appointment," one upon the other so often in this ranted Hanegbi in reference to country that we scarcely have time Meridor's term as a cabinet secreto digest the first before being force tary in the late Menachem Begin's time. "He's a lawyer as gray as a sack," added Hanegbi for good fed a second. Thus Hebron all but crased from the front pages one of the juiciest measur Meridor's people responded with dignity: "If Meridor must choose political scandals we have had for oh! - days. Yet the saga of Roni Bar-On, the between political loyalty and a attorney-general with a Guinness record for the shortest-ever tenure public duty to defend the rule of law and proper conduct, he will (who managed to resign on the choose the latter. Hanegbi crossed same day as the outgoing previous Attorney-General Michael Benall red lines and tried to turn the attomcy-general's job into a politi-Yair) has refused to go away entirecal sinecure."

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THE YELADIM SHELANU FOUNDATION

invites you to a special event, benefiting the Schneider Children's Medical Center of Israel, Petah Tikva QЛ Tuesday, January 28, at 7:30 p.m., Gan Hafikus In the presence of the Minister of Health, Mr. Yehoshua Matza

MC: Sigal Shahamon (from the Wheel of Fortune). and Michaela Berko. Fashion Show: Miss Lagotte - Summer 1997 Special performance by Dafna Dekel and Hanoch Rosen

Tickets, NIS 150, including dinner and dancing. For more information, call 03-939-3802, 921-0885.

The Jerusalem Post & ZOA House Friday Morning Forum **QUESTIONS & ANSWERS**



DAVID BAR - ILLAN Prime Minister's Senior Policy Adviser FRIDAY, 24th JANUARY 10:30 a.m. ZOA House, 1 Daniel Frisch, corner Ibn Gvirol, Tel Aviv. Admission NIS 10 early booking: ZOA House Tel. 03-6959341 Moderator: Tom O'Dwyer Foreign Editor, The Jerusalem Post

and a second second

The Jerusalem Post Friday, January 17, 1997

COLUMNS

AGAINST THE GRAIN Oh no, the stock market's going up!

Buy all you can.

worth.

By HILLEL HALKIN

185, 192, 198, 210, 220, 227, 230. It's not my blood pressure. It's the Tel Aviv stock market.

But it could be my blood pressure, because I hate to see the market go up. That's mostly, I suppose, because I don't bave an agora in it. I never have had one. 1 feel like a fool when my money that is earning 4% in the bank could have earned 40% in stocks. When the market plunges, my self-esteem soars.

Why the stock market is sbooting up now is a good quescon. Markets are supposed to reflect economic treods. That means they go up the fastest when the economy expands, businesses increase their profits, the public has more money to spend, and inflation and interest rates stay low.

But the Israeli economy is eurrently in a process of mild contraction, exports have been clobbered hy an artificially weak dollar, the budget deficit is soll too large, inflation remains higher than almost anywhere in the First World, interests rates are high too. unemployment is on the rise, and the political situation is unpromising. Nor does anything seem to be

A VIEW FROM NOV

By MOSHE KOHN

Adam's eating of that apple, or what-ever the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of

The real sin was their unrepentant refusal

to acknowledge error and responsibility for

error: when they were caught out, Adam

hlamed Eve, then Eve hlamed the serpent,

and neither expressed remorse. They had

not yet learned that when you point that

accusing finger at the other, you point three

The talmudie Sages tell us that it all hap-pened because Adam talked too much. All

God told him about that tree was that eating

of it would result in his death. When the ser-

pent tried to lure Eve, she initially resisted

hy saying that God had also warned that just

Sages tell us, indicates that in reporting

God's warning to Eve, Adam had embell-

ished it hy adding a humra (stricture) of his

own. The scrpent, knowing the facts, gave Eve a shove, so that she fell against the tree.

touching the tree would be fatal. This, the

Good and Evil was.

fingers at yourself.

Dowerful evidence indicates that the so-called "Original Sin" was not Eve and

on the verge of taking a dramatic turn for the better. So why the sudden surge?

Maybe because the fix is on again. It's always been that way in

Israel.

The market is small enough to five, to ten, to 15, to 20. It dipped a point or two, steadied, and began be easily manipulable, and the manipulators periodically pump it up and bail out before it hursts just to elimb again - 25, 30, 35, 40, 42. I was sitting on \$40,000-worth of as more and more small investors profits. are elimbing giddily aboard. Then And then Fastbreak began to drop. At first slowly. To 4I. To 40. To 39. To 38. At 37, I called Mel. they buy back when stocks are low and start all over again. That's "I'm thinking of selling," I said. what happened in 1982-83, during the year of the magic bank-share "What do you say?"

er temporary dip. Stick with it. Fasthreak will hit 100 before the in the year of the great Middle East peace boom. And it may be end of the year." about to happen now too. Or am I just imagining it

bonanza. It happened in 1993-94,

hecause I've been through it once myself, not in Israel hut in the United States? It started in 196g or '69, when

someone I knew, a sharp Wall Street operator, bought up a dereliet company that I'll call Fastbreak Communications. Fastbreak was selling for threeand-a-quarter on the New York exchange at the time, and my friend Mel phoned me and said, "Look, kid, I shouldn't be giving

when a sum of money came into I hought all I could: \$3,000our possession, I said to her, "You know, if I had the nerves for it, I'd And indeed, Fastbreak began to invest it all in the Tel Aviv Stock take off. Within months it rose to Exchange." The TASE average was 191 then. It had been hovering there for months, but something told me the wolves had finished sleeping off their last meal and "You'll do nothing of the sort," said my wife.

The warning wasn't necessary. 1 didn't have the nerves for it. They had been shot by Mel.

"Kid," said Mel, "it's just anoth-And the worst, the most galling part of it, is that those who have the nerves won't pay a penny of taxes. Between income tax and I stuck with it. before the end of National Insurance you and I will fork over a third or half of our daily wages to the Israeli government, while those profiting from the market will keep every agora they make.

Since Israel, to the best of my knowledge, is praeocally the only developed country that does not tax stock-market profits, it hardly needs to be pointed out how economically absurd this policy -curiously enough, a hand-medown from our once-socialist gov-

you an inside tip like this, but the market. If you don't believe me emmeots - is and how pathetic Fastbreak is going to go sky-high. ask my wife. Three months ago, attempts to revise it have been. Even the Netanyahu administraoon's handling of the past week's attorney-general fiasco looks professional in comparison with the Rahin administration's flipflop three years ago, wheo it first reversed its campaign promise not to tax market profits and then quickly reversed its reversal. The ostensible reason, you may recall, was to keep a nervous market from dropping further, but the market in fact, after some initial flurrying, did not appreciably fall when the tax was imposed and did not rise when it was revoked. Why should it have? The tax was far smaller than what Israelis pay on earned income and did not pose the slightest deter. . .

rent to serious investors. But the wolves howled, and Rabin turned and ran, and Netanyahu and the country learned the lesson. During last month's budget debate, which raged around increasing government revenue by raising taxes on working wives and eharging health-insured patients for visits to the doctor, the words "stock-market tax" were not even whispered once.

the next crash.

Welcoming foreign donors

By BEVERLEE BLACK

David, and my daughter, Naomi -Valerie Adelson, Kensington, CA. \$100 In memory of Dr. Zvi Rosen, J'Im, 'm prompted by the news that many hundreds of Hadassah ladies will be visiting Israel and Yosef Rosen, Tivon - Maurice next week for their annual confer-Altshuler, NY. ence, to make a special appeal to friends from abroad wishing to

Altshuler, NY. \$75 Anon., Skokie, IL. \$36 In the name of our beloved David – Doris and Matthew Yarczower, Wymewood, PA. \$36 Good health to Sonia and Borah Brown – Rachel Grindlinger and Anne Heddy Brown, Mountainside, NJ. \$36 In grateful memory of my beloved parents – B. Piechowicz, Rome. \$25 Karen Hills. Norwalk. CT. donate money to a worthwhile While everyone has a pet charity, our three funds for old folk, children in care, and oew immigrants cover such a wide range that we seem to satisfy most givers; the result being that over one third of the million shekels we raise every year comes from overseas. My message this week is addressed to those Hadassah dele-Progress Fronte New gates, tourists in hotels or staying Donations with family or friends, visiting

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'See?" he told her, 'you didn't die, and you won't die either if you eat of its fruit."

indifferent drivers, hureaucrats of both the public and private sectors, cabinet ministers, academics, and, of course, journalists. Let's look at one typical adamitic record.

response to allegations of error. On December 6 I discussed the 1993 fourth edition of a textbook on Politics in the Middle East hy James Bill, professor of government and director of international studies at the College of William and Mary, Williamshurg, Virginia, and Professor Robert Springborg, of Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. I cited a small sampling of a large number of sins of commission and omission in chapter 7 – "The Arab-Israeli Connection" - of the

book (hereafter referred to as B/S). Two readers, Dr. Jerome S. Kaufman, of Bloomfield Hills, Minnesota, and Karl

Kaplan, of East Brunswick, New Jersey, brought my column to the attention of W&M's president, Timothy J. Sullivan.

In his reply to them, Suffivan says there are "factual inaccuracies" in the column. The only one he cites is my erroneous reference to Bill as professor of history. He does not cite a single example of the "many ... quota-tions" be alleges I took "out of context." Following are a few of the book's sins,

That is not what the Arah aggressors themselves called it: their bloodthirsty. blood-curdling statements of that period (and for a long time afterwards) are on

· B/S says that: "The equation of ancient Hebrews with modern Jews is ... questionable." Their source is that French-Jewish rabid anti-Zionist Professor Maxime Rodinson's guess that "It is very prohable that the so-called Arab inhabitants of Palestine ... have much more of the ancient Hebrews' 'hlood' than most of the Jews of the Diaspora,"

Since when, except in the minds of racist, antisemitic Arab and pro-Arab propagandists, is the Eretz Yisrael issue one of race? According to B/S, it is only a "perception" of ours that that "Arabs [are] bent on the destruction of Israel." Never mind all the Arab declarations about driving Israel into the sea and continuing jihad until, as Nobel Peace laureate Yasser Arafat has put it, the Palestinian flag is hoisted on Jerusalem's mosques and churches. (I wonder what he has in mind for the synagogues.) B/S has it that "between September 1947

and September 1949 over 700,000 Palestinians ... fled their homes." The actual total who fled du immediate wake of the 1948 war, based on estimates hy "Palestinian" spokesmen at the time and hy UN Special Representative in Palestine Count Folke Bernadotte in his report to the UN of September 16, 1948. was no more than 420,000 at most (see documentation in Battleground: Fact and Fantasy in Palestine hy Shmuel Katz). B/S quotes a rabid anti-Israel source, Erskine Childers, to put the entire blame for the flight of Eretz Yisrael Arabs from their

bomes in 1948 on Israel. It does not quote any of the Arab authorities (including the then-prime minister of Syria and leading "Palestinian" spokesmen) or refugees of that time who, in a most rare deviation from adamitis, took responsibility for the creation of the "Palestinian refugee prohlem." • B/S identifies Joan Peters, author of the

classie and indispensable From Time Immemorial, as "a Zionist author." It doesn't identify other authors it cites hy the vartous poliocal labels like anti-Zionist, radical left, pro-Arab etc.

I HEARTILY endorse W&M President Sullivan's recommendation to Kaufman and Kaplan to "get a copy of the hook itself and read it in its entirety." I urge all those interested to do so and read my quotations in their cootexts, and see for themselves all the other examples of how B/S misleads. Then i you will appreciate the magody of Sullivan's assertion that B/S "is the leading textbook : on Middle Eastern political systems in the United States." And you will see that, contrary to Sullivan, I am arguing less with B/S's arguments than with its misrepresentation of the facts.

As for the "wide variety of scholars" who, ly favorable reviews" - that tells us less about the hook's reliability than about those alleged scholars' judgment. Sullivan also tells us that Bill "has lectured at several major universities in Israel" and that the book has been used in courses offered in universities here.

FUNDS

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AND BIBI

231, 233, 234. I can't wait for

the year Fastbreak was back to three. It was only later that I found out that the first to start dumping stock, when it was still selling at 42, was Mel. I also found out that, during the months of Fastbreak's meteoric

rise, he was busy planting rumors everywhere in the financial world about the company's sensational plans for growth. It's not that I'm not smart

enough to make good money on

The 'Original Sin'



13

(See Genesis 2:16-17 and 3:1-3 and Avot d'Rahhi Natan, Buber edition, version A, 1.)

THE PASSING of the huck, with the accompanying finger-pointing (adamitis for short), seems to be endemic throughout humanity, an ailment the cure for which will probably take immensely more time to find than it will take to find the cures for cancer and AIDS.

Especially susceptible to it are children.

 B/S relies almost exclusively on Jewish, Arab and other radical left, post-Zionist, anti-Zionist, and-Israel sources.

 B/S speaks of Jewish "perceptions of abiding antisemitism." "Perceptions," or historical fact? · B/S has it that the invasion of newborn

Israel hy the armies of five Arah states in 1948 was "interventions ... into the civil war that had been raging since December 1947 between Jews and Palestinians."

This, too, tells us less about the book's reliability than about the faulty judgment of the people organizing those lectures and teaching those courses.

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The needs of those on the bottom of the pile are endless and I can assure you that any money you give will be put to very good use. Our listing this week is a little thin, prompting me to remind all of you out there to send in today to: The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O. Box 81, Jerusalem 91000.

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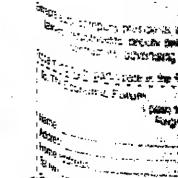
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Man's role in the world

By SHLOMO RISKIN

SHABBAT SHALOM

"This month shall be unto you the beginning of months. It shall be the first month of the year to you." (Ex. 12:2)

ace every four weeks, usually between the seventh and 11th day of the Hebrew month, the congregants do not rush home immediately after the Saturday night services to recite Haydala, but first gather under the open sky. Once they have made sure the moon is not obscured by clouds, they recite special prayers sanctifying the moon, and generally conclude their chanting with a dance.

To some, the custom may sound strange, hnt it is quite important. Before a new month can be declared, witnesses must testify before the Sanhedrin as to exactly what they have seen of the moon; they are even expected to violate the Sabbath in order to get to Jerusalem as quickly as possible and give their testimony. After all, only on the basis of the witnesses' report do we know whether the previous month had 29 or 30 days, and hence on which day to celebrate the festivals this month.

Why does this commandment receive the honor of being first and merit the public involvement of the most respected religio-legal institution in Israel? In fact, Rashi asks why the Torah begins with the account of creation, when it should have begun with the first eommandment given 10 Israel. The passage he suggests as a subsouthe for "In the beginning" is "This month shall be to you ...

Ancient man worshipped the moon. Appearing and disappearing in the skies, it was inevitable that it became the symbol of mys-

1.

tery and magic. Man's deepest secrets, fears and madnesses were ascribed to this force in the sky. With the advent of the Egyptian plagues, the world was turned on its bead. Every Egyptian's worst nightmare came true, from the

nature-deity Nile River turning to blood to the moon totally disappearing, leaving Egypt in pitch darkness. But these aberradons weren't haphazard expressions of the nature-god gone awry. They came as a legitimate punishment from the God of ethical monotheism for immoral slavery and oppression. The message of the exodus is the freedom of Israel to establish a world of commitment and compassion, a society of love and justice, working toward peace and redemption.

The first commandment begins: "This month shall be to you..." Yon are not to be the moon's; the mnon is to be yours! Just as the Israelites have become physically freed from Egyptian slavery, we must be spiritually freed from a superstitious dependency on the moon. The Torah tells us we can control and subdue nature, our own erratie natures as well as the mysteries of nature all about us, through the logic and rationality of

ethical living as directed by the Torah and explicated by the religio-legal experts. Yon are in control of your life, your time and your society - this moon is yours if only yon take proper advantage of God's teaching. Moses' written law and the Sanhedrin's oral law. The monthly sanctification of the moon includes the following petition: "May it be your will O Lord ... to readjust the deficiency of the moon, so that it may no longer be reduced in size; may the

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the first seven days of creation." Do we really expect that one day the moon will be the same size as the sun? Wouldn't that spell disaster for our planet? Quoting a midrash, Rashi explains that the moon and sum

were initially equal in size. The moon then appeared before God complaining that "two kings can-not rule with one crown." Since the moon, smitten with jealousy, wanted all the light for itself, God reduced its light, while the sun's remained the same.

Jealousy is probably the most destructive force in the world, the real root of all evil. Cain's jealousy of Abel brought aboot the first murder; Josepb's brothers' enmity is the prototype for the causeless hatred (jealousy) responsible for the destruction of both Temples. We sanctify the moon as it moves towards growth.

expressing our faith that jealousy can be overcome, human nature can be perfected, the world can be redeemed! The primordial sin can be overcome and fixed. The two lights can once again become

equal! By combining these two ideas the moon as a symbol of redemption and the moon as a symbol of our determination of time - we

conclude that the Jewish dream of redemption depends on us. Just as we have a share in determining how it affects our immediate lives so, too, redemption should not be perceived as a natural phenomenon. Just as the rabbinic leaders sanctify the moon and declare the times for the festivals ("These are the festivals of God which you shall declare at their appointed time" - B.T. Rosh Hashana 25a), so must we assume our role as light of the moon again be like the active partners in the march light of the sun, as it was during toward redemption.

The last mishna in Tractate Sota [49a] describes what the world will be like just before the messiah comes. Our sages present a description of a society gone awry. with impndence abounding and youth reviling their elders. The description ends with the words, We have no one to rely on but our Father in heaven." I once beard a

wise Jew suggest that this final

comment is not the cure, but rather a part of the illness, for if we depend only on God, without acting ourselves, nothing will change

"Only he who attempts to purify himself - hy taking ebarge of his time and his personality - is eventually helped from on high."

THE JERUSALEM

Jona bassin, formo, rany. NIS 180 In bonor of our cousin Miriam Benstein's 80th birthday – Alan and Leika Goodman, Savyon. NIS 115 Sha'arei Ratzon, Congregation Shabbat Shalom

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POST AACI Business and Professional Forum and The Jerusalem Post The Eye of the Storm The Dynamic of Change in the World of **Corporate Media** with Jeff Barak, editor of The Jerusalem Post

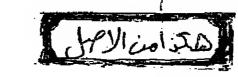
Dr. Yoram Perry, former editor of Davar Israel is on the cutting edge of the information revolution.

Join other English-speaking professionals for coffee and cake as we learn how these two men navigate change in major news media.

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Advance registration (with payment) by January 27. NIS 5 surcharge for at-the-door payment. Space limited. Priority will be given to participants who register in advance.

For information and registration, call the AACI at 03-629-9799.



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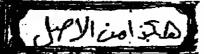
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BUSINESS FINANCE Friday, January 17, 1997

BITS & BYTES

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

Bezeq-Call to build network for the Israel Police

Bezeg-Call is building a communications network that will connect all 105 Israel Police exchanges throughout the country in a pri-vate network. The system, which is expected to substantially reduce police telephone expenses, will integrate advanced technologies; including ATM and frame relay. The system will mean that calls between stations will be transferred as internal calls and calls from a station to private citizens in different area codes will be relayed through a police station in the specific area, rendering the call local.

Integrated Technology USA wins innovation award

Integrated Technology USA, Inc. (Amex: ITH), which operates two Jerusalem-based subsidiaries, recently announced that its CompuNet 2000 Internet telephony product won the Innovations '97 award for computer accessories at the International Winter Consumer electronics Show in Las Vegas. CompuNet 2000 is a PC keyboard that allows users to make conventional telephone calls and, when used with Internet telephone software, to make phone calls over the Internet. The device also permits the conferencing of Internet and conventional phone calls.

The company also announced that it has shipped 1,000 mits of 2000 CompuPhone, a PC keyboard that enables users to make and receive telephone calls using the keyboard without the need for a conventional telephone or modern, to Calidata Systems of Neutral Bay, Australia.

Magai announces \$1.3m. order

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Magal Security Systems, Ltd. (Nasdaq: MAGSF) of Yehnd recenty announced that the Schiphol Airport Authority in Amsterdam, Holland has purchased three new AISYS 370B automatic bomb detection systems. The \$1.3m. order, which brings the total number of AISYS machines operating in the airport up to seven, also includes the upgrade of two previously purchased AISYS machines.

Opal and Siemens announce strategic alliance

Opal, Inc., which was recently purchased by Applied Materials, and Siemens microelectronics Center, a subsidiary of Siemens AG, recently announced that they have entered into a joint development agreement. According to the agreement, the companies will jointly develop system capabilities needed for the measurement of sub-quar ter micron structures, based on the current Opal system. Active research will be performed by engineers from both companies at Siemens' Dresden facility and Opal's development site in Ness Ziona.

Top Image Systems signs four agreements

Top Image Systems, Ltd. (Nasdaq: TISAF) of Ramat Gan recently announced the signing of four new agreements with Asian companies. Pericom Imaging Pte., Ltd., of Singapore, Computer Vision Asia, Ltd. of Hong Kong, Prime Systems Plus of the Philippines and Chengdu Maipu Electric of China have become the newest resellers of the company's form processing and data capture automated systems. The company also sells its products in Israel.

Virtual Jerusalem records record number of hits

Virtual Jerosalem, the largest site on the Internet for Israel and Jewish related material, recorded a record number of hits during the month of December. With 8.8 million hits, it doubled its previous record of 4.3 for the month of November. The site provides gateways to other sites, such as E-mail to God, a service that allows people to send a prayer to the Western Wall via the Internet, Kotel Kain, an actu-send a prayer to the Western Wall via the Internet, Kotel Kain, an actu-al camera that is positioned to look down at the Kotel, and the news

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Dor Energy signs \$400m. gas station deal with Poland

By DAVID HARRIS

Dor Energy and the Polish state oil company Centrala Produktow Nastowysh yesterday signed a \$400 million deal to construct 400 gas stations in Poland over the next five

Dor Energy, which is part of the Dankner Group, CPN and a second foreign company that requested anonymity, will invest some \$200m. in the first year, as the program of repairing existing gas stations and building new ones commences. The signature of the contract took

place in Haifa, in the presence of Polish Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. Dankner, which already has interests in Poland, is looking to make

further investments there. "Poland, in my eyes, is the young

tiger of Europe," group chairman Shmuel Dankner said. "We are looking at widening our infrastructure and other interests. There is very great potential there."



Dankner Group chairman Shmuel Dankner (from left), Polish Prime Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, and CPN general manager Malyska Zery shake hands at yesterday's signing ceremony in Haifa.

Before initialing the deal, what he sees as "the stable, constitu-Dankner had taken into account tional government and court sys-absent from other developing

European nations. "The network of gas stations will

be modern with state-of-the-art equipment," Dankner said.

15

The group's interests include energy, chemicals, plastics, communications and real estate. The company began investing in Poland in 1994, when it purchased a share in the Polish telecommunications company RP Telekom. The compaoy won the contract to establish telephone infrastructure systems in 16 regions with 10 million inhabitants. Five of the regions already are connected to the network.

Poland now is becoming a focus of increased Israeli interest. In Communications September, Minister Limor Livnat paid a threeday visit there to discuss a cooperation pact between the two countries in the field of communications. She also looked into possibilities for Israeli involvement in other projects and encouraging private investors into Poland. The Amos satellite is also set to provide services to Poland.

Japanese firm likely to cancel \$250m. industrial and tourism investment in Omer The complex, if it goes ahead, would include high-tech indus-

By DAVID HARRIS

Plans for a \$250 millico Japanese industrial and tourism investment in Omer will "almost certainly" be cancelled, the town's mayor, MK Pini.Badash (Tsomet), said yesterday.

may be linked to the change in Israel's political leadership, but is more likely connected to the decision to reduce the amount of grant

"I am sorry to report that what I predicted to the Knesset Finance Committee is now coming true," Badash said yesterday.

As part of the government's financial reforms, it has reduced the amount of capital investment

have 200,000 square meters of industrial space. The \$100m. tourism complex would be adja-cent to the factories and include a 300-room hotel. We are reexamining the deal in the light of political changes and the alterations to the Capital Investment Aid Law," said one of

tries, research and development

the company's Israeli representatives, who are scheduled to meet Badash today. Neither Investments Center

director David Baruch, oor his superior, Industry and Trade Ministry "Director-Geoeral. Ministry Director-Geoeral. Yehoshua Gleitman were available for comment yesterday.

Israel, though more for political mg companies, all household oames, were considering large reasons than economic ones. Japanese Ambassador Haruhiko investmeots in Israel early last Shibuya said in November that year. Now they are waiting to see three of the world's largest hold-

ISRA	MON	EYMA	RKETS
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No penalties for veteran pension fund transfers

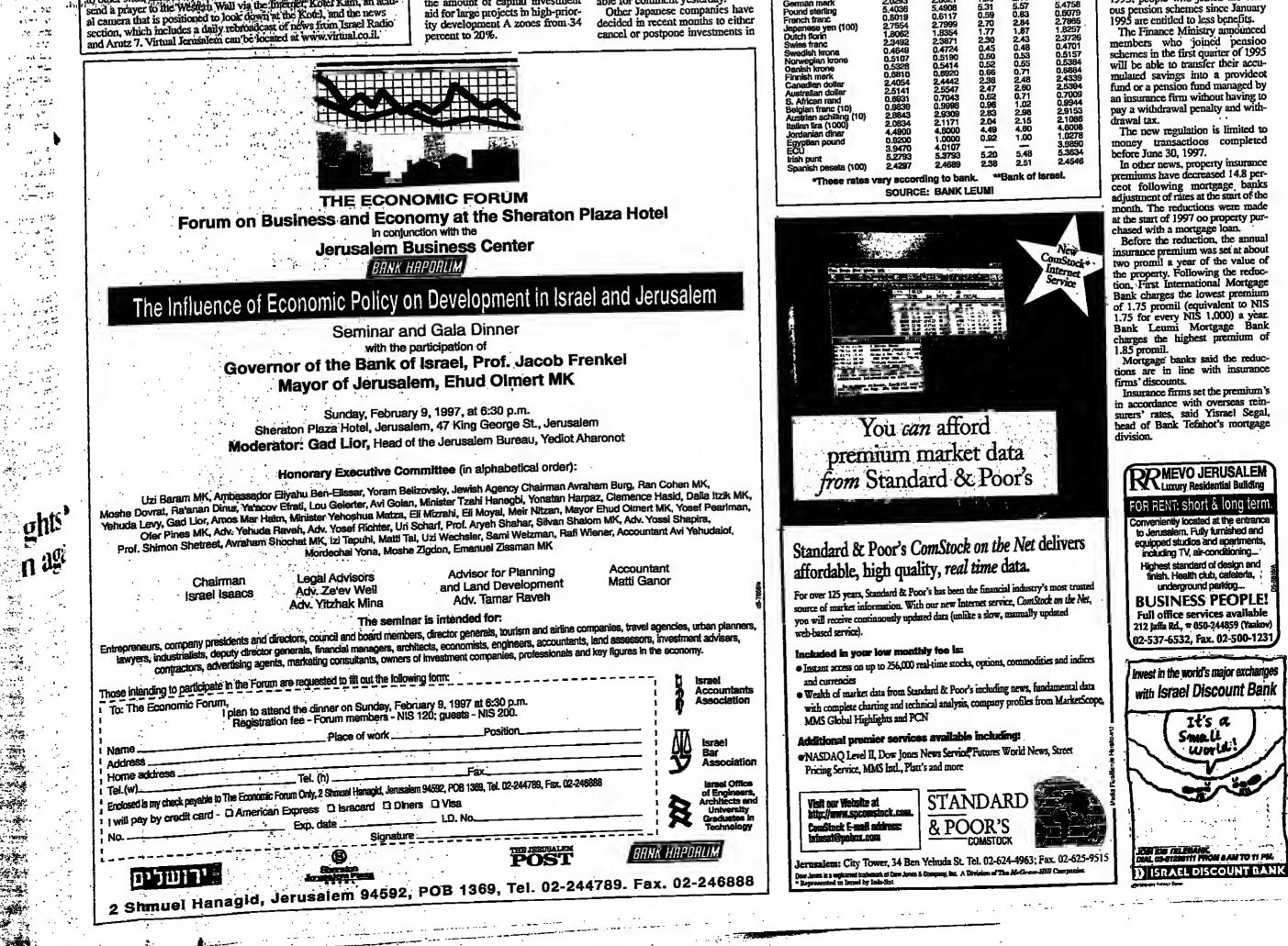
By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

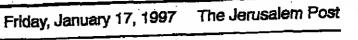
Savers who joined veteran pension funds in the first quarter of 1995 will be able to transfer their deposits to new long-term plans without losing any accumulated benefits, the Finance Ministry announced yesterday.

The new regulation is intended to protect savers who joined the pension funds on the assumption that they would be entitled to the same generous benefits that veteran members and pensioners receive. As a result of the government's noision decision concerning arrangement at the end of March 1995, people who joined the vari-

institutes and a tourism project, spread over 600 dunams, It would A decision by the Rekoto Kasai company to abandon the project,

aid available under the Capital Investment Aid Law, he said.





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Bonda Mar.bdure	+1 boti Lobe 55.375 +2.125 Astronand Micro 34 +0.375	Chicom	Grainger (W&Fi) 54.25 +1 Grainger (WW) 80 +0.625	Mine Salinty App 55 -1 Minnesota Mine 55,625 -1.125	SPS Technology	Weigreen 40.675 +0.676 Wei-Mart Stores - 20.25 +0.125 Warrer-Lambert - 77.76 +1
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Stating 3 months Stating 8 months	Alex & Albx	Cons Edition 30.376 +0.125	Hambichleger	Murphy C0 54,125 +2.825	Scripps 36.125 +0 Scripps 48.25 +1.25	Weyner/Walaugar 48,625 +0.125
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ren 0 months	Amer 5 Power	Crame 28.5 +0.125 CrampionKnowles15.625 -0.125	Harch & Payne _ 53.75 -1.125	Network Bern 76 375 +0.375 Network III 6.675 +0	Shell Trans	Work/Communications25 -0.25 Workhington Ind18.5 +0.25 Weiginy57.25 +0.25
Ten 12 months	Amer Greeng - 28.78 +0.875	Crown Cark Seal 55.625 +0.875 Currowns Engine 51.125 +1.375 Currow-wygrz 01 +0.5	Hendhey Foods . 44,675 -0.125 Hendley Packard 54,975 +0 Hillion Hotels	New England B 34.875 +0.25 News Corp 21.5 +0.25	Shorey's IPC 7 40 Shorey's IPC 7 40 Signa Akitch 30.5 40.5 Steon Graphica 27 40 System Corp 24.873 40.125 Strikin Corp 24.873 40.25	Xerac
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Futures, Options, Stocks, Bonds	Apple Coopular - 10.78 -0.5 Appled Megnatics 37.875 +0.825 Austrer Decisie - 21.875 -0.825	Deluce Corp	INCO	Non State Per 47 +0.5 Nontinop 78 +0.375	Spring 1715 42.5 +0.375 Sprint Corp 38.625 -0.375	Georgen 1111 .O.E
and Mutual Funds 34 Ben Yehuda St.	Armon 4.5 +0.125 	Del Corp Del	International 20.575 -0.125 Inter Corp 142.375 +0.125 Intergraph 9.875 -0.125	Norwest Corp	Standard Proce 24.875 -0.25 Stantey Viola 39.929 +1 Stone Container 15.78 +0.125	British Airways
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Tel. 02-244963, 03-5758826 Fax. 02-244876	AST Restarch	Dover Corp 60.75 -0.625 Dover Corp 61.625 -0.75	Ind Multibools 17.625 -0.125 Ind Paper	Ohio Calually 36.75 +1.25 Ohio Edison 22.75 +0	Sun Comptiny	Guiness
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US commodities	Bunk of Boston 70 -0.625 Bank of New Yk . 34.75 -0.25	Echilia inc 32,625 +0.25 Exercision Elec _ 100,825 +1,125	Ken-McCare 74 +0.125 KeyCarp 52.125 -0.25 KeyDark-Clark 101.375 -1.875	PPG industries . 63,625 +0.25 Peccer inc 63,25 +0.25 Peclicorp 20,5 +0.125	Terative 44.5 -0.125 Terative 24.75 -0.25 Terative 13.625 +0.125	PARIS Accor
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Sugar no 11 (Mar) (CEC) 10.57 -0.05 Uneat (Mar) (CEOT) 387.25 -3	Usach & Lomb - 34.76 +0.25 Baser ing 44 +0.125 bay Network 24.5 +0.75	Econ Bochen 16.625 +0 5 Ethyl Corp 10.25 +0.125 Econ 103.25 +0.75	LSI Logic 33.25 +1.625 Legget & Plat _ 33.125 +1	Parth Eastern	Textron 93 75 +0.375 Thedicit 46.875 +5.5	Carragour 5384 +4 Carragour 5384 +4 Chargeurs 357 +7.5
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Croces Mart (LCE) 878 -4 Collee (Mart (LCE) 1331 +0 Siens crude of (Mart)(PE) 2307 -58	15.525 +0.125 + +4 & Decker - 21.75 -0.125 +170	Fieldones Cart _ 16.75 -0.25 First Bank Sys - 71.375 - 4.5 First Chicago _, 54.875 -0.125	Lones Corp	Pharmacia & Up 40,525 -0.25 Phalps Dodge73.5 +1.875 Philadel Elec 25.5 -0.5		Period Ricard 299.1 -2.8 Peugeot
Spot market metals (US)	1	Pint Internet	Longs Drug Stal 24 625 -0.125 Longi Corp	Philip Mans 114.25 +0.5 Philips Bec 43.125 +1.5 Philips Pet 45.375 +0.25	Tanaco Energy 51.825 •1 Tanvolicia Grp _ 48,125 •0.375 Travolicia Grp _ 48,125 •0.375 Travolicia Grp _ 27,875 •0.825 TRUNOVA Corp 27,875 •0.25 Travol Energy 52 +3,625	Saint Gobain, 795 +6 Total B, 447.0 +3.5
· Last Change	1 Anna ADR 98.5 -2	For Links Rise _ 13,125 +0,125	Louisens Paci 21.5 -0.625 Louis Collec _ 35.25 +0.125	Picneer Hi Breiz	TWA 0.125 40.25 Two: Latas 50.025 +1.75	FRANKFURT
3cki spot 354.05 +1.8 Selver spot 4.76 +0.08	Linu Saladi ADR	Plastud Enterp . 25.125 +0 Plastud Cos Ok 17.625 +0.125	Lucers Tech	Potent Crp 3.75 -0.25	Tyler	BASF
New York metal futures	Liven Group 1525 - 0,375 Liven & Shirpe , 14.75 - 0.25 Liven & Shirpe , 14.75 - 0.25	Ranka Prog	Marge	Potomac E: Per	USG Corp 36.275 +0 UST Inc	Deutsche Benk 78.47 •1.67
Last Change	Inurseck	Ford Mostr	Manor Care 26.625 -0.25 Mapos inc 31.675 -0.25	Pug Snd Pwr 24,625 +0	USX-US Steel	Drescher Bx 51 15 +0.05 Hoschet 69,58 +0.87 Lufmense 21,93 +0.23
Cold (Fea) 355 +1.8 Sever Atar) 4,74 +0.055 Pitelmum (Jan) 360.9 •1.8	TIS Inc 21.125 -0.125 TIS Energy Corp 33.575 +0.125	Gallogt Tays 14 375 +0	Mash & Mala	Cualer Ceta	Union Carbode 43 625 +0.125	Mathemann 654.5 -15 Metalotsebuckst 33.21 -0.09
Patiadium (Mar) 124.5 +1.76 High-grade copper (Mar) 1.068 -0.011	X Corponition	GATX Corp	Marvol	RJR Nachero		Porazile
London metal fixes	Lamptel Scup 81 4.375 C.ptal Ca ASC . 68.25 +0.875 Latoine Per Li 37 +0.25	Gap Inc Dal 30.375 +0.5 Galicorp	Mannah Int 28.75 +0.25 Manvag Corp 21.75 +0.25 McDamote 17.5 +0	Rent Cegnan ADR 14.5 +0.25 Raychesh Corp., 84.875 +1.25 Raycheon 48.25 +1.25	USAUR Group	
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Gold All for 334 +1.30 Gold Pla for 351.05 -1.4 Singr for 467.8 +2.4		Gen Maars	NcCaraw /20 48,025 +0.375 NcKasson Corp - 54,75 +0.125 Sheed Com 61,375 +0.875	Reynolds Reyn A 26,125 -0.373 Reynolds Meteta 65,376 +1.85 Rite Ald Corp _ 38,125 +1 Roadway Sankog 19,625 -0.125	US Trust 60.5 +1.78	Committeek Trading Ltd.
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Committeek Trading Ltd. (Date 18-JAN-67)					-	

close to the magical 3,000-point for the first time. level

The DAX closed the bourse session up 4.86 points at a record closing high of 2,993.31, having carlier hit a record intra-day high of 2,998.61, and having risen over 20 points from an early low of 2,970.45. In post-bourse trade the index was rose 19.56, to 2,996.12.

NEW YORK (AP) - Stocks

edged to new highs yesterday

after recovering from an after-

noon pullback spurred by anoth-

er increase in interest rates in a

On Wall Street, the Dow Jones

industrial average rose 38.49

points to close at 6,765.37,

about 3 points better than

Tuesday's record finish, to give

the red-hot blue-chip barometer

jittery bond market.

PARIS - French stocks closed

Dow sets record high

WALL STREET REPORT

sions.

highs.

INVESTORS AND/OR

STRATEGIC PARTNERS

Needed for a young and

dynamic Israeli company,

specializing In a unique and

needed service business,

bearing great potential, with

30 employees and two offices

across the country, planning to

open more offices and to

launch a franchise program in-

Israel and abroad.

The rise was due to technical factors, favorable bond markets, firming European bourses and strong advances in Roche certificates and major banks.

its seventh new high in nine ses-

The Dow, which had briefly

slipped into negative territory

after surrendering an early 55-

point gain, has already advanced

nearly 5 percent, less than three

Broad-market measures also

recovered to post modest gains,

with several closing at record

weeks into 1997.

The All-share Swiss Performance Index (SPI) soared 17.10 points, or 0.67%, to 2,568.85 points. The SMI was up 0.69%, or 27.5 points, to 4,007.1.

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Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

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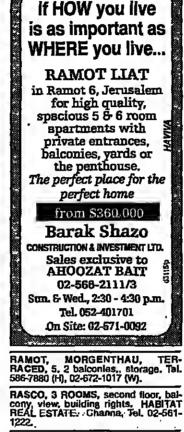
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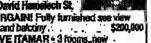
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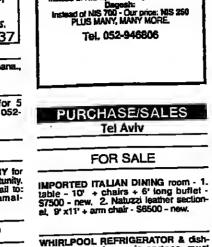
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PERSONALS General

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Invitation to Submit Bids for Purchase of Cottage in Naveh Avivim, Ramat Aviv

Acting in my capacity as receiver, the undersigned invites blds for the purchase of a cottage at 10 Nahum Gutman, Naveh Avivim, Ramat Aviv, located on a lot of approximately 280 sq.m., known as Block 6629, Parcel 174 (below: "the Cottage").

The coefficient of a total built area or approx. 250 sq.m., and contains 3 stories, including 2 living rooms, 4 bedrooms, a patio, parquette floor on the ground floor and basement, all of which are connected by internal tairways.

The cottage has been evaluated by an assessor at \$1,000,000. The assessor's report and the agreement which the bidders are required to sign can be obtained at the offices of the understand undersigned.

The successful bidder will purchase the rights to the cottage on his own responsibility, and he will himself examine all aspects of his rights in the cottage, and its physical condition.

Bids should be submitted, together with a bank guarantee linked to the representative dollar rate in the amount of 5% of the value of the bid, which is or 3% or the value of the body which is valid until at least April 15, 1997, or an appropriate bank check, made out to the undersigned, no later than February 16, 1997. An agreement form signed by the bidder should be attached to the bid.

The undersigned is not obligated to accept the highest bid or any bid, and reserves the right to conduct negotiations with any of the bidders it deems fit.

deems fit. The cottage will be sold unoccupied and empty of furniture, and transfer of ownership will take place following approval of the sale by the head of the execution office, and subject to full payment, under the conditions set forth in the agreement signed by the bidder. in the agreement signed by the bidder. The sale is subject to approval of the head of the execution office. The undersigned reserves the right to redeem the bank guarantee or the payment deposited with him, in full or in part, of any purchaser who withdraws his bid after it has been submitted for approval to the head of the execution office.

For further details and to arrange a visit to the cottage, contact the undersigned. Y. Shefler, Advocate

Receive 7 Rehov Abba Hillel (Beit Silber), Ramal Gan

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Friday, January 17, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

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PM: Not all our ideals are within reach any more

By DAVID MAKOVSKY. that "dangers remained." JON IMMANUEL and LIAT COLLINS

Israel agreed to redeploy io Sec. Hebron because there is a "different reality" as a result of the Oslo accords, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said last night, adding that the ideological concepts he grew up believing are "not all within reach anymore." Speaking at a press conference

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last night, Netanyahu said that by moving forward on Hebron, be was acting in accordance with the definition of leadership, which requires making hard decisions. Leadership, he said, means generating a "meeting ground between vision and reality. This is leadership.'

At the same time, Netanyahu rejected the notion he was ahandoning the Likud ideology.

'I don't accept these fashionable notions that there is no more Likud, and it is the end of ideology. There is a different reality, but not a different Likud," he said, adding that his government could not ignore the situation it inherited. He reiterated that the agreement was better than the frame-

work accord worked out by Labor. but admitted it is "not perfect" and

ABRAHAM **Continued from Page 4**

Today, it is a military command post with spot lights, guard boxes, checkpoints, thick black electric cables, closed zones and other military paraphernalia. The necessary security imperative of separating Jews and Moslems after that attack did not consider Arab feelings. The IDF placed restrictions on Arab movements to prevent revenge attacks against Jews. "The victims paid twice," said Mayor Mustafe Natshe.

The cave became the final issue when Yasser Arafat, mindful of his liberator role, raised his voice at the Erez summit oo December 24 and demanded a role for Palestinian police there. "If you want to cootrol Al-Ibrahimi Mosque, take Hebroo, I don't want it," Arafat shouted at Netanyahu.

He got oo more than heygot from the Rahin governmeot, which considered the cave only from the perspective of security, but promised to review its status three months after IDF redeployment

Abraham, the source of so much

He said his beliefs in the "most important" parts of his credo remain strong, such as a commitment to a united Jerusalem and to retaining access to parts of hihlical Israel such as Beit-EL "Beit-El speaks to me as I walk there," Netanyahu said.

When asked wbether the Hebron accord has cemented his relationship with Yasser Arafat, Netanyabu gave slightly differing answers. When asked in Hebrew, be suggested that there are "no personal ties," but rather that it was in the interests of the parties to move forward.

pullbacks in the West Bank.

In biblical narratives, cousins

generally remain on cordial terms

by agreeing to go their own ways

as equals, fathering their own

nations, herding their own flocks.

How that precedent will work in

Hebron where two communities

who currently feel only inntual

contempt are now condemned to

live side by side as good neigh-

bors will have vast repercussions

for the peace process as a whole.

Many non-Hebron Arabs con-

sider Hebron a collection of

motually suspicious clans rather

than a seedbed for Arafat's

nationalism. They see the Jews

there as potentially one more

clan, more objectiooable than

most, less objectionable than oth-

ers. But if local Jews become

political equals, they might just fit

There are indications that in this

totally imprecedented situatioo,

oew Jewish attitudes may also

predominate, Many settlers, most-

ly in Kiryat Arba, have come to,

accept the new arrangements as a

fait accompli and say they are the

majority and want to improve

Jewish-Moslem relations, work

with the Hebron municipality on a

into the city.

Yet, when asked in English, be didn't answer directly. saying Prime Minister Binyamin personal relations are important Netanyahu but not as important as "relationships between two peoples."

Meanwhile, US officials were ters." US Ambassador Martin offended wheo some Likud MKs Indyk said. suggested that the refusal of the The State Department said: "The US to disclose the contents of a letters of assurance ... refers to the

letter of assurance to Yasser Arafat process of further redeployment as an Israeli responsibility, which meant that Washington may be acting duplicitously by giviog cootradictory letters to the US and includes its designating specific military locadons. Commenting on the US letters, the Palestinians on the issue of Marwan Kanafani, spokesman for Israel's designating further IDF the Hebron negotiations and a "There are no contradictory letclose aide m Palestinian Authority

SHAHOR

continued from Page 10

There is also effective preventive action on their side. This isn't to say they can't do more. Even the Palestinians are oot hermetic. Eveo when we were there there were problems. Some of our demands include that they do more, Regarding attacks, the situation is better. Lately they found, the cell which carried out the attack in Beit El,

When it comes to trust, what kind of effect did your dismissal from the peace negotiating team have on the Palestinian conception of the present government's willingness to make a deal? I had finished the civilian agree-

meot and there was oo reason to reopen it. I could not have done more than I did and we were waiting for military agreement for its completion. Before this we couldn't have progressed with anything else.

But was there an echo of your dismissal in the following negotiations?

That is not the point. The civilian agreement was coocluded. The

Chairman Yasser Arafat, denied on Palestine Radio that Israel can unilaterally decide from which territories to withdraw during the next three phases of redeployment or that the US backs such a unilateral decision.

NEWS

"We raised this in a meeting yesterday [Wednesday] with the American side. We do not agree that any party should be forced by the other party's decision, especially when it is connected with withdrawal. There should be a general understanding that the purpose of the peace process is to end the Israeli occupation."

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher's letter to Netanyahu, which says, "I have advised Chairman Arafat of US views on Israel's process of redeploying its forces" does not say what those US views are. Kanafani said that in the letter of assurance sent by Christopher to Arafat, Christopher does not say that the US supports

a unilateral decision by Israel. "There is no such text. If there would have been we would not have accepted it. It has to be understood that the peace is a matter for agreement. This means that no party can take 100% of what it wants.

tell you also, and I am not reveal-

ing a secret, that these are goals

which they will compromise on.

They can discuss the size, but this

is their goal. From this perspective

the light at the end of the tunnel is

very bright and clear, and it has

been this way throughout the

negotiations. The interim agree-

ment is a kind of a bridge which

allows for a soft way of getting

into the negotiations on the final

arrangements. For us, this final

arrangement needs to give us

The Palestinian questioo is the

central one we are dealing with.

They are scattered among us

unlike other Arab nations. The

Palestinians are the central topic

for us and have an effect on our

relations with the whole Arab

world. The Palestinians among us

have a lot of components includ-

ing the Arabs of Israel, who are

also, in some ways, Palestinians. It

is not an either/or situation, but

the heart of our problem of sur-

But are there other serious

When you speak of alternatives

This is a poli

you have to ask yourself what the

trate the riots in September?

didn't totally lose control, but

there were areas of chaos. There

were areas where Arafat personal-

ly got involved, like at Joseph's

Tomb, to prevent further blood-

shed. The Palestinians feel that

theyemerged from the incident

strengthened and Arafat's status

If the violence erupts again will

If it repeats itself it endangers

the whole peace agreement. Yon

have to understand that this is all

SAVIR

Continued from Page 11

Greater Jerusalem, along the old

1967 border, in areas surrounding

Jewish settlements, training

grounds and vital resources, such

as the quarries in the Mount

Hebron region. Savir stresses that

Israel would not have agreed to

automatic Palestinian authority,

whether civilian control in Area B.

been that we would have had a lot

more than 20 percent of the terri-

tory fafter the third redeploy-

ment]," be says. "We said that not

every Area B turns into Area A and

oot every Area C [where Israelhas

Foreign Ministry officials say

Savir was being generous in his

approach. Then-foreign minister

Ehud Barak, they recall, warned

Peres that Israel must be in control

of 90 percent of Judea and

Samaria following the final further

redeployment. "The idea was

when the negotiations would

arrive at a critical stage, we would

have enough assets," a senior offi-

Savir says he and his colleagues

had envisioned that Israel and the

Palestinians would have advanced

sufficiently in the negotiations on

final status for each side to under-

stand the other's conceptions.

Final status talks were to have

cial says.

full authority] turns ioto B."

The assessment would have

or total authority as in Area A.

the peace process be able to take

improved significantly.

if

alternatives to a Palestinian

security.

vival

state?

dialogue.

The Palestinians have stated that by the third redeployment 80% of the West Bank will be in area A or B. Currently 27% is in areas A and B. The highest Israeli estimate is 50%. The Beilin-Abu Mazen plan calls for handing over 90-93% in a

final settlemeot. Abu Mazen - Mahmoud Abbas, Arafat's deputy - speaking to Israel Radio's Arabic service yesterday, did not reveal the contents of the letter but said that the letter "assures us that there is a witness who will push Israel m implement the agreement if she tries to avoid

At the start of yesterday's Knesset debate on the Hebron Agreement, several MKs, led by Alex Lubotsky (Third Way) demanded the House be presented with any letter from Christopher to Arafat.

In the Likud faction meeting, Ze'ev Begin, who resigned yesterday as science minister over the agreement, warned his colleagues not to rely on US letters and promises "because they ignore the existence of another player in the field [the Palestinians.]"

Cabinet Secretary Danny Naveh sent an urgent letter to Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon stat-

very finely balanced. It is based on

a relationship of trust on one hand,

and realizing that the joint interest

ing that all the documents regarding the Hehron redeployment which had been presented the cabinet had also been submitted to the Knesset. "To the best of my knowledge

there is a letter from the US Secretary of State to Yasser Arafat. The US administration informed us that since Israel is not the one m whom this letter is addressed, it does not intend to present it to us," Naveh wrote. "However, the prime minister

was briefed by US envoy Dennis Ross regarding the contents of this letter. A spokesman for the US State Department even clarified yesterday [Wednesday] in a statement which has also been submitted to the Knesset that "The guarantor's letters which Secretary Christopher intends forwarding to both sides also relate to the process of further redeployments as Israel's responsibility, including its determining the specified military locations.

Labor Party Secretary-General Nissim Zvilli told the plenum Arafat had written to Ross disputing Israel's interpretation of the term "military locations" and said the Palestinians consider this to mean military camps.

But there are those ridicule

You should see what bappens image continues to improve all the opponents and those who criticize guiding them to these very goals that we spoke about, and that is a

Palestinian state. As his stature grows does it bring a Palestinian state closer? If you are asking me whether the Palestinians want a state the answer is yes. If you are asking me whether they have now what they never had before, the answer is also yes. Arafat was elected and there were fudges but he succeeded in convincing the international observers that the elections were democratic ... compared to where we live in the world. If this will be what Arafat will call a Palestinian democracy, which is a congiomeration of a lot of things, the answer

is yes. Yoa leave this task after a dynamic two years of change for the office. Can only a military

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him when be travels to a foreign country like France. There is a pilgrimage of all sorts of leaders. The transformation from the leader of a terror organization to the leader of the Palestinians is a great improvement to his image, and his

time. There is no doubt that his him see him as the leader of the Palestinians and the one who is

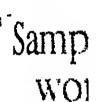
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is to continue with the dialogue on the other. I have no doubt that the use of violence clearly endangers the peace process because it is entirely based on mutual trust in Hebron and elsewhere.

What did the Palestinians lose because of the violence? The use of violence certainly strengthened their sense of securi-

ty. The problem is the use of vio-

lence which cannot always be

controlled. I think that further acts

of violeoce could totally destroy

the peace agreement. It could

bring about a total rift. If incidents

[of violence] recur, they can bury

the peace process. There is a para-

doxical situation here. On one

hand there is a danger of chaos as

long as Arafat doesn't receive

something. The sense among

Palestinians is that they can use

force and they will emerge with

honor and achievements. But on

the other hand, Arafat knows he is

walking on a tightrope and that the

wrong use of violence could cost

all his achievements. He knows

that he would be taking a great

risk. He knows that the power is

on the Israeli side in the end.

(Brian Hendler)

political conflict in Hebron, has served Israeli-Arab peace elscwhere. Egypt's Anwar Sadat saw him as the source of Israeli-Arab consinhood which justified recognition of Israel. Arafat too calls Jews and Arabs sons of Ahraham in lighter moments.

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SISTER **Continued from Page 4**

being confiscated by the Turks.

The building served the Britisb as a police station, remand center e. 1. and courthouse. In 1893, the house today known

as Beit Hadassah was built nearby and a second floor added in 1909. It boused a clinic, supported by Medical

Hadassah the Organization, serving both Arabs and Jews.

By the time the British took over in 1918, the Jewish population in Hebron had dropped to 430, but it soon began to recover. . د The Slobodka yeshiva was moved there from Lithuania in 1925. By the 1929 riots, the Jewish population had risen to 700, out of a general population of 18,000.

On August 23, 1929, following rumors that Jews were going to attack the Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem, local Arabs devastated the Jewish community, slaughtering 67 people, and injuring more than 50. Fifty-nine of the victims were buried in a commoo grave in the Jewish cemetery, and the rest of survivors fled to Jerusalem. In 1931, 31 Jewish families returned and tried to reestablish the community, but in April 1936, fearing another massacre, the British evacuated the community. Hebron was captured by the

Jordanian Arab Legion in 1948. Jews were not permitted to visit or pray at the holy sites in the city. Furthermore, the Jordanians razed the Jewish quarter, desecrated the cemetery and built an animal pen on the ruins of the Avraham Avinu Synagogue.

Hebron fell to the IDF on June 8, 1967, a day after the fall of Jerusalem. Ten months later, Moshe Levinger led his group into the Park Hotel for Pessah posing as tourists. After the holiday ended, they refused to leave. The government split over what to do with the settlers, and after a month of indecision, decided against evicting them. The group was temporarily allowed to remain in a military compound in Hebron, and in May 1970, the Knesset authorized the construc-

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local level, maybe eveo participate in local politics to secure their interests.

Their aspirations seem quixotic. As long as the more radical settlers believed there was a chance of revoking the Hebron decree, the moderates felt they should remain silent. Now their time has come.

tion of some 210 apartments on the outskirts of Hebron, to be known as Kiryat Arba.

The rationale for placing the settlement outside the city was to reduce cootact and friction between the two sides.

Encyclopaedia Judaica put the 1967 population of Hebron - all of woom, except 106 Christians, were Moslems - at just over 38,000.

The first 105 homes in Kiryat Arba were ready in the fall of 1972. The settlement today bas some 6,000 residents, and at its closest point is 750 meters from the Machpela Cave. The Jewish community in

Hebron itself was reestablished permanently in April 1979, when a group of women, led by Moshe Levinger's wife, Miriam Levinger, moved into Beit Hadassah in Hebron, property that was owned by Jews. Again after protracted negotiations, this time with the Begin government, the government allowed the settlers to stay.

In May 1980, the government decided in favor of the settlers after terrorists fired on yeshiva students in front of Beit Hadassah as the students returned from prayers at the cave. Six were murdered and 20 others injured in the attack. Begin agreed to refurbish Beit Hadassah and to permit Jews to live in the adjacent Beit Hason and Beit Schneerson buildings. Since then, other Jewish properties, foremost Avraham Avinu and Beit Romano, have been refurhished or rebuilt.

In 1984, a handful of families moved into mobile homes at Tel Rumeida, one of the early Jewish quarters of the city, oear the ancient Jewish cemetery, All other development was halted by then-defense minister Yitzhak Rabin.

military agreement was going on in parallel and it progressed. The conclusion of the civilian agreement created a momentum at the time. I can't say that we concluded it because I ceased being a part of it. I closed the matter. If there was some kind of change of guard in the middle then we could say something, but I had nothing to do with the military talks. I can't link the two.

What is the lesson that has to be learned from the affair of your dismissal for meeting with Shimon Peres? There is nothing to learn.

There have been reports of tensions between the General Staff and the political leadership. How do you see the relationship between the two?

It's clear that this is a sensitive point. I was trained for one thing and that was to do the mission. I served the state and served under various governments. I was given missions and I carried them out. This last mission I did as best I could, as many people, including the minister of defense, bave said. This was what I had to do and what was expected of me. The military ranks carry out their jobs. If you ask me whether when I carried out the joh there was involvement of the poliocal echeloo and if they heard my voice, the answer is yes. I felt, more than once, that the prime minister listened to what I had to say and that I had an influence. We had lots of talks, including private meetings, and he was party to everything. I had full backing when it came m concluding the agreement. How do you see the negotiating

abilities of the Palestinians? What are the goals of the Palestinians? They want a Palestinian state. Arafat thinks he can achieve this goal and if not he knows that he has all sorts of alternatives including violence. He has repeatedly said he is operating on the model of Beo-Gurion - a struggle for independence and a willingness to sacrifice in order to reach this goal. But he understands that in a political dialogue this is not the right way. As long as he believes he will be able to reach them through political dialogue, trust and confidence improves. But they periodically raise the matter of an eruption of violence. They emerged strengthened from the use of violence in

September. Îs a Palestinian state inevitable?

I can tell you that this is the desire of the Palestinian side. I can

Are you saying that Arafat is cal decisioo and 1 am not the one very balanced? to deal with it. I can tell you, as Arafat knows that if he doesn't one who knows the Palestinian reach his goals he will take a step question, what is important, and towards declaring a Palestinian statehood is the thing they are

state along the model of Ben-Gurion's [Jewish state]. But on the yearning for. And there are two ways to reach it the violent way other hand he is aware of the danor the development of a political gers of this step. He doesn't want to lose. He has to navigate his peo-How much did Arafat orchesple through this complex situation. The answer comes from life. I don't think he intended for the Nothing is black and white. The incident to escalate as much as it use of violent tools against us is did. But he had a lot of influence. very dangerous for him and he is The PA had a lot of influence over aware of the dangers. what happened in many places. It

You compare Arafat to David Ben-Gurion, do you think Arafat has an element of greatness?

Arafat compares himself to Ben-Gurion, the person who established the Jewish state, knowing that using this model works well with us. There is a gap between him and the other leaders. There are others who are very acceptable, Abu Mazen for example. But Arafat behaves as one who sees himself as a leader who is leading his people to a state. He has a script and be uses Ben-Gurion as an example.

begun in May 1996, which would have left 15 months to negotiate until the deadline for the third redeployment. By the time the deadline arrived, Savir says, Israel and the Palestinians would have been hard at work presenting maps and delineating borders that might have made the third redeployment unnecessary. Instead, both sides would have agreed on permanent borders.

This strategy was disputed within the Foreign Ministry, officials recall. Yossi Beilin, then deputy foreign minister, urged Peres to skip the interim arrangements and discuss the final status of the territories while Israel has assets with which to bargain. Beilin's concern, they say, was that the stronger Yasser Arafat became the less he would be willing to concede. Savir disagreed. He saw the Oslo agreements as a way to build trust with the Palestinians and friendships with the leadership that would follow Arafat. In the end, Peres agreed with Savir.

"Uri Savir, more than anybody else, understood the psychological element," a former colleague in the Foreign Ministry recalls. "He was a big believer in gradualism. At the same time, Peres and Rabin didn't want to do anything that would affect the final status so any time a problem arose they looked for gimmicks,"

person hold this position? FOR SALE, PASSPORT-TO-PASS PORT, Hyundai Lantra, 1.8, automatic, one nwner, '95, 20,000 km. Tel. 050-No, but there are benefits to a military person holding this job. 535920 You have the possibility of dealing VEHICLES with security matters and working with the regional commands and the security services. Also, the Palestinians respect military peo-Moshe Dan of Kiar Shmaryshu offers passport to-pessport cars and molarcycles: 1933 PI/WAUTH Voyager, 7 eester, 42,000 m*1963 MERCEDES 320E, catxiolet, like new, 2,500 km.*1968 MERCEDES 420E, 8 cylinder, 235,000 km.*1969 MITSUBISH specewagos (8 seafer), 65,000 km.*1989 Mazda 626 (American), losaded, 5 gears, 52,000 ml.*SUBARU Legacy station, American, 22 Rers, 62,000 ml.*1988 SEAT 9000, turbo, 131,000 km.*HONDA molecycle, 650, 10,000 km.*FORD GRANADA, bengan, 52,000 ml.*CHD GRANADA, bengan, 52,000 ml.*CHD GRANADA, bengan, 52,000 Int. TORD GRANADA, bengan, 52,000 ple. We are seen as military peo-

major-general have to be support-After 32 years in the military and two years in this job, are you sorry to be leaving?

ple, and civil servants and a

No. It was my personal decision. The minister of defense was interested in me continuing in the army, and made no small effort in trying to convince me to stay. But it was my own decision to leave. I believe one should leave at their neak. The Hebron deal is signed and I feel as if the circle is closed. I think this is the best opportunity to end and I am doing it wholeheartedly. 1.1.1.1.

the however; TODAY. Palestinians are not taking chances, Savir says. They don't trust Netanyahn and worry that any concession might be his last. It's a far cry, he says, from when Arafat agreed to establish a council with only 3 percent of the West Bank under his control.

Savir does oot criticize Netanyahu's attempts to slow down the Oslo process. Indeed, privately, several former aides of Peres and Rabin say Netanyahu's biggest mistake was his haste to pledge his commitment to Oslo and meet with Arafat. "What was Netanyahu's sin?" Savir asks. "It wasn't so bad that he wanted to slow Oslo down. But look at all the pressure that resulted. This [Netanyahu] government, with all of the changes it introduced. accepted Oslo," be says. "What I hope it learns is that there is a great difference if we lead or are

Oslo is dangerous and we can't proceed, 1 can understand, although I would not accept this." Savir, however, warns against Netanyahu forming a strategy of trying to maneuver the Palestinians into torpedoing the Oslo accords. This would not free

Israel from a backlash by the inter-

being led. If the government says

national community. The prime minister, Savir says, Oslo after the Palestinian battles Savir.

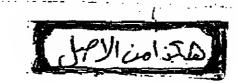
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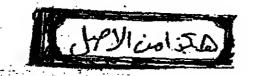
---with Israeli soldiers in September. "What greater violation could you bave asked" for than the Palestinians shooting at IDF sol-diers?" Savi says. "I would have(stopped the talks with them for two months. But forcing the Palestinians to break Oslo is dangerous. It stops any chance of a solution and leads to war."...

THE OUESTION is whether Netanyahu has a strategy for negotiating with the Palestinians as well as firm goals he seeks to achieve at the end of the process. Savir says his positions on final status of the territories are clear. They would allow for a Palestinian state with defined borders that would exclude Jerusalem entirely. Palestinian refugees would not be allowed into Israel "There is no doubt that there will be a final agreement," Savir says. "It could take five years or 10 years or 20 years. But it has to come because we live as neighbors."

So far, Savir says, Netanyahu has played mto Arafar's hands (The PA chief is stronger now than he ever was under the Rabin or Peres governments, Moreover, Israel and the Palestinians are oo longer negotiating algae, "because we have a third force, whether it is missed his best chance to scuttle the US, Jordan or Egypt, says . 8

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The Jerusalem Post Friday, January 17, 1997

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SCOREBOARD

NHL -- Wednesday's results: Pittsburgh 3, Hartford 6; Buffalo 2, N.Y. Islanders 1; Los Angeles 3, Toronto 2; Ottawa 5, Washington 1; St. Louis 4, Phoenix 1; Colorado 4, Tampa Bay 2; Calgary 2, Anaheim 1; Edmonton 4, Dorde 6.

Maccabi cakewalks over Charleroi By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

First, the good news: Maccabi Tel Aviv finally routed a Euroleague opponent at Yad Eliahu last night, beating Belgium's Charleroi 87-70. The bad news? They should've won by 30 against a team that

should ve won by 30 against a reall that would have difficulty beating Yeshiva University, oo a bad night for YU. Still lacking the killer instinct they'll need to go further in Euroleague play, Maccabi nonetheless got its first win in Group E play thanks to outstanding games by both Randy White and Buck Johnson. The victory gave Maccabi an overall 7-5 record in Euroleague play this season.

While it was great to see coach Zvi Sherf's club finally win a laugher at home, the opening minutes were certainly no the opening matter. Allowing the Belgians to laughing matter. Allowing the Belgians to shoot practically at will, Maccabi found itself down 13-7 after seven straight points by Charleroi's Ron Ellis.

Sheffer & Co. there was a basketball game

going on at Yad Eliahu, and Maccabi went on a 16-2 run, paced by Johnson and Sheffer. Johnson, back after being sorely missed with an illness last week vs. Alba, was silky smooth in the first half, especially on offense, as the Pink Panther glided to the hoop for 14 of his game high 24 points. When Sheffer took an elbow to the eye

and had to get stitches. Derrick Sharp admirably replaced him, hitting a threepointer to open up a 40-26 advantage for Maccabi. Meanwhile, Charleroi played an offense

that can only be described as bad school-yard ball, with players haphazardly chucking up three-pointers when the spirit moved them. The Belgians rarely challenged Maccabi's interior defense, and went off

be opening minutes were certainly no aughing matter. Allowing the Belgians to hoot practically at will, Maccabi found uself down 13-7 after seven straight points y Charleroi's Ron Ellis. Fortmately, someone reminded Doron Fortmately, someone reminded Doron point guard and not much of a game plan,

the Belgians were in the process of being folded, stapled and mailed back to Belgium then, anyone still at Yad Eliahu – and there at 65-42 when their secret weapon took hold: boredom.

and a state of the second s Second second

Fans in the stands could hardly be blamed for dozing off while watching Charleroi's dull play, which never seemed to be going anywhere, particularly on offense. Apparently bored with the Belgians' mediocrity, Maccabi fell asleep at the switch. But before long, Charleroi had run off an 11-2 run on the sleepwalking home team, cutting Maccabi's lead to 72-60 and forcing Sherf to summon Sheffer - who did not start the second half - from the bench to provide a

wake-up call for his troops. It was White and Johnson, however, who injected some life into the listless Maccabi attack and defense. White (20 points, 13 rebounds, and three assists) particularly active with eight steals on the night. Sheffer rekindled Maccabi's running offense that had been so effective in the first half, and the Belgians reverted to their old, bland selves. Polish center Adam Wojcik had a brief

weren't that many - could have cared less. The 87-70 final hardly reflected the vast difference in talent between the two clubs.

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While the victory was important for both Maccabi's morale and the standings, there were still some serious problems. Tel Aviv area police are still searching for Nadav Henefeld, who was totally missing again on offense with just three points. Oded Katash showed some flashes of his old self in the first half, but added just two points in the second. And wouldn't it have been nice and totally within the club's potential when it was elicking on all cylinders - to have crushed the Belgians, a poor excuse for a Euroleague team, by some 40 points?

Nonetheless, the victory, achieved with-out Brad Leaf, was an important building block towards next week's showdown in Greece vs. Olympiakos, a match-up that could go far in determining who's a contender and who's a pretender in the race for the Final Four.

Rodman kicks courtside camer

MINNEAPOLIS (AP) - One groin. Amos was treated and moment he was the hustling, springing Dennis Rodman who fans admire. The next moment he was the reckless, unrepentant Rodman who also has become familiar.

After tumbling into a row of photographers, Rodman kicked a comeraman in the groin during the Chicago Bulls' 112-102 victory over the Minnesota Timberwolves on Wednesday night.

Eugene Amos was carried from the court on a stretcher before being treated at a hospital. Although Rodman said he didn't intend to burt Amos or kick him in the groin, he scoffed at Amos's injury claim. "I thought I hit him in the thigh,

then all of a sudden he went back," Rodman said. "I said, 'What's wrong with you? I'm sorry I hit you.' Then all of a sudden he says, 'Get away from me.' All of a sudden he passed out. I'm like, 'Yeah, right.' "It's one thing to get hurt, but

don't pretend you're more seriously burt than you are."

Replays showed Rodman's kick caught Amos very high on the inside of the left thigh, and Wolves pbysician Sheldon Burns concameraman, was kicked in the need to be that close."

released at the hospital, where he was interviewed by police. "We took an assault report, list-

ing Dennis Rodman as the suspect here," Lt. Sharon Lubiaski said. "However, absolutely no charges have been filed and there hasn't been any contact with Dennis Rodman by Minneapolis police."

Reached at home early yester-day, Amos was emphatic when asked if he planned to file charges. "Most definitely," he said. "I feel hurt. I feel let down, I admired him. With everything, I just admired him. I'm sorry he felt that way (that Amos faked injury)."

Rodman said he twisted his ankle when he fell over Wolves photographer David Sherman, who was seated beside Amos. Rodman also said he intended to kick a small camera he said Amos had, although Amos was using a larger television camera to film Rodman's tumble.

"In the first place, the camera people are too close along the baseline," Rodman said. "All of a sudden, boom, I step on his camera. Any athlete will react the same. I stepped and twisted my ankle, and then I kicked the guy. I firmed that Amos, an in-house don't care who it was. He doesn't



SCENE OF THE CRIME - Dennis Rodman stands over car eraman Eugene Amos after kicking him.

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ĸ		ntrai I		N1	
11	Chicago	33	4	.882	-
	Detroit	27	9	.750	5%
	Atlanta	23	11	.676	8%
	Cleveland	21	14	.600	11
	Charlotte	21	16	.568	12
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	Portland	20	16	556	ż
	Sacramento	16	22	421	12
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	LA Clopers	14	22	.389	13
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Stuart, playing in only his third one-day match for his country, dismissed Ijaz Ahmed,

Mohammad Wasim and wicket-

keeper Moin Khan in successive

Bevan scored an unbeaten and

highly controlled 79 from 142

balls to ensure that Smart's out-

standing figures of five for 26

The lanky New South Wales

paceman became only the second

Australian bowler - and the 12th

in the world - to take a hat-trick in

But the victory came too late for

Australia, which failed to qualify

for the final as hosts in their worst.

performance in one-day cricket at

home for 17 years in terms of

Pakistan and West Indies will

face each other in the best-of-three

final, starting in Sydney tomor-row. (AP, Renter)

World Series standings P⁴ W NR 1 Pts. West Indies 8 5 1 3 10 Paidatan 8 4 4 8

a limited overs international.

from 10 overs were not wasted.

gular competition.

results

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Sampras, Courier struggle to advance; India fights to 233 for 3 on women's seeds breeze on through

MELBOURNE (Reuter) Former men's champions Jim Courier and Pete Sampras struggled for form in the Australian Open yesterday as the top women sailed into the third round.

World number one Sampras conceded he had entered the danger zone of the \$7.6 million grand slam tournament after a hesitant four-set win over Romanian Adrian Voinca. Courier had five bruising sets against Slava Dosedel of the Czech. Republic.

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Sampras said he felt out of sorts at the start of his centre court struggle with 48th ranked Voinca, who

played with nothing to lose. "I didn't play too well," top seed Sampras said after pulling himself together to wrap up the match 3-6, 6-2, 6-3, 6-2 with 14 aces. He now faces in-form Australian

Mark Woodforde, a semifinalist here last year, for a place in the final 16.

Woodforde, who has an impres-sive list of upset wins over the past 12 months, hopes to repeat the feat of compatriot Mark Philippoussis who last year knocked Sampras out of the Open in the third round. Courier, a former world No. 1 climbing back up the rankings after a disappointing 1996, was at his belligerent best in a three-and-ahalf hour tussle with Dosedel, ranked world No. 67.

By contrast, third-seeded Croat Goran Ivanisevic needed only 89 minutes to dispose of Karol Kucera of Slovakia 6-4 6-2 6-2 in a night march

Fifth seed Thomas Muster of Austria and Spanish 10th seed Albert Costa also powered into the third round in straight sets, as did

the top women's seeds. Swiss Martina Hingis and eighth seed Irina Spirlea were both straight sets winners, while second seed Arantxa Sanchez Vicario did not have time to raise a sweat before her opponent retired hurt. Sanchez Vicario was a game ahead three minutes into the match when Belgian Stephanie de Ville twisted an ankle and was taken from the court in a wheelchair. Germany's Anke Huber, whose



GIVE IT YOUR BEST SHOT - Swiss tennis star Martina Hingis prepares to return service to opponent Lisa Raymond.

One thing which is certain is the

mother added her name to the injury list when she mysteriously collapsed here on Wednesday, also 6-4. won through, although Italy's

Francesca Lubiani gave the world said she played "almost perfect ten-No. 5 a fright by taking the first set nis" in the second set against American Lisa Raymond to tri-

Hingis, a multi-millionaire at 16, umph 6-4 6-2.

Hapoel Tel Aviv still not sold

By ORI LEWIS

The off-again on-again sale of Hapoel Tel Aviv soccer club is off

again The Histadres, which is trying to sell off a major liability in the shape of what was once the pride and joy of the workers' organization's sporing prowess, has been

unable to decide on the sale. Not that there is a shortage of takers. A deal was just about to be signed on Wednesday night between the Histadrut and a group of investors from England represented by a former Hapoel player,

termination of coach Moshe Sinai's contract. Histadrut Nimrod Dreyfus. However, at the Chairman Amir Peretz and trealast moment, a new offer from a Haifa contractor arrived with an

announced that Sinai, who has undertaking to buy the club immebeen a permanent fixture at the diately. Dreyfus's offer is to take club for some two decades, first as control of the chub now, with an a player and then as coach and option to buy at the end of the sea-

manager, will end his employment at the club on Sunday, as none of the prospective buyers are interested in his services. Sinai's golden handshake is said

surer Shmuel Avital have to be worth some NIS 2 million.

first day of third Test

Rahul Dravid and Saurav Ganguly combined for an unbeaten 133-run fourth wicket partnership yesterday to lead Iodia to 233 for three on the first day of the third Test against host South Africa.

India oceded a stroog start after losing the first two Tests, and the series, to South Africa.

After winning the toss and choosing to bat, the visitors crawled to 100 for three until Dravid and Ganguly began their stand and piled up runs, helped by several drops and loose bowling by South Africa.

Dravid finished the day at 81 not out while Ganguly had an unbeaten 68.

The first hour of play produced only 18 runs and the second 23 as India lost opener Vikram Rathore at 13 when he was caught behind off a delivery by spinbowler Paul Adams, who turns 20 next week. Paceman Allan Donald then bowled Nayan Mongia just after iunch and South African captain Hansie Crooje induced Indian skipper Sachin Tendulkar into a slice caught by Brian McMillan, leaving India in trouble.

Dravid, who had 34 runs in almost two-and-a-half hours, was joined by Ganguly and the pair put some life in the Indian batting. In total command in the final session, Dravid reached his fourth Test 50 with seven boundaries off

Ashkelon looks to stretch lead over Second Division rivals

abandoned fire station.

By ORI LEWIS

Second Division leaders Hapoel Ashkelon take center stage for the second week in a row as they attempt to bolster their chances of gaining a promotion spot to the National League today.

Ashkelon takes on secondplaced Hakoah Ramat Gan at home this afternoon as the National League sits out the second week of its mid-winter break. The Ashkelonis are sure to have a major turnout for the match, they are one of the best-supported teams in the country and at last week's away fixture against Ironi Ashdod, they had more supporters in the ground - around 4,000 -

than the home team. The police will be especially vigilant at Ashkelon's home ground to ensure that there are no incidents reminiscent of last week's in Ashdod. At that match, 10 people were injured when they fell through an asbestos roof of an

133 deliveries, while Ganguly raced to his second 50 in eight Tests off only 89 balls that included 10 fours and a six. Donald, the most dominant

South African bowler, left the balls as part of a five-wicket haul. Chasing Pakistan's total of 181 for nine in 50 overs, left-hander pitch before stumps with cramps in both halves. Michael Bevan helped steer Australia to 182 for seven with South Africa won the first two Tests of India's visit, avenging a three balls to spare, ending a run of five straight losses in the trianseries loss in India at the end of

last vcar. The linenps were nearly identi-cal to the second Test in Cape Town, with India making the only change by replacing opener Woorkeri Raman with Rathore.

Australia-Pakistan

Fast bowler Anthony Stuart elaimed a hat-trick as host Australia salvaged some pride with a thrilling three-wicket victory over Pakistan in their World Series limited overs match yesterday.

inres, all matches today at 2:30 pm unless otherwise stated: Hapoel Bat Yam v. Maccabi Acre, Bat Yam 2 pm; In other fixtures of interest, bot-Hapoel Ashkelon; Hakoah Ramat Gan, Ashkelon; Hapoel Kiryat Shmona v. Ironi Ashdod, Kiryat tom side Hapoel Hadera will my to escape the relegation zone when it takes on fellow-strugglers Maccabi Jaffa, while third-placed Ironi Shmona tomorrow 2:30 pm; Maccabi Netanya v. Betar Tel Aviv, Netanya; Maccabi Kafr Kana v. Maccabi Kiryat Ashdod travels to another side in Gat, Kafr Kans; Maccabi Jaffa v. Bapoel Hadera, Gaon Stadium, Jaffa Hapoel Ashdod v. Maccabi Yavne, Ashdod tomorrow 2:30 pm; Hapoel dire straits, Hapoel Kiryat Shmona. National League teams return to action next weekend in the eighth round of the State Cup, the league will resume in two weeks' time. Ground, Ramat Gan tomorrow 2:30

This weekend's Second Division fix-

	SECOND DIVISION							
	P	W	D	L	G	Ga	DH.	Pts
Happel Ashkeion	14	10	1	3	20	9	11	31,
Hakoah Ramat Gan	14	8	3	3	26	13	13	27
Ironi Ashdod	14	7	5	2	23	14	9	27 26
Maccabi Netanya	14	7	4	3	24	17	7	25
Happel Bat Yam	14	6	4	4	20	12	8	22
Maccabi Kafr Kana	14		3	5	18	20	-4	21
Maccabi Kiryat Gat	14	6 5 5	5	4	ŤŤ	15	-4	20
Happel Ashdod	14	5	- Ă	5	21	17	4	19
Happel Ramat Gan	14	4	6	4	14	11	9 9 9	18
Maccabí Acre	14	4	6 5	45	13	18	-3	17
Betar Tel Aviv	14	4	4	6	14	19	-5	17 16
Ness Ziona	14	4	3	7	16	22	-6	15
Maccabi Jaffa	14	3	4	7	17	21	-4	13
Maccabi Yavne	14	4	1	9	15	25	-10	13
Hapoel Kiryat Shmona	14	2	5	7	10	22	-12	11
Hapoel Hadera	14	1	7	6	10	17	-7	10

Ramat Gan v. Ness Ziona, Crater

NEWS

Rain eases drought

By DAVID RUDGE

22

The winter drought was broken yesterday, as rain accompanied by isolated thunderstorms swept most of the country, causing flooding in many places and long delays on the roads.

Flash floods closed the road to the Dead Sea from Nahal Kidron southwards for part of the day, and flooding also effected low areas in the Judean Desert, the Arava. and the Negev. Scores of road accidents were

attributed to the weather, which included heavy early morning fog on many roads, especially on hills in the North.

Despite the disruptions, the heavy rainfall - which turned to snow on Mt. Hermon - was warmly welcomed by farmers and all those concerned about the country's depleted water resources.

The level of Lake Kinneret, which has remained stable for the past month, rose by two centimeters vesterday as a result of precipination in the region.

"Rain after a such a long dry period is a blessing." said Shlomo Bahaloul, deputy director of the Lake Kinneret Authority. "It is somewhat late in coming but very welcome, and the answer to our prayers, given the state of the Kinneret until now.

"We have enough in the lake at the moment to meet requirements for the coming year, but that would bring the water level down to the low-level mark. We can only hope and pray that there will be more rain in the coming weeks to make up the deficit in the level of water in the lake at the moment," said Bahaloul. The weather also proved a boon



By yesterday afternoon the snow

Anat enjoys Tel Aviv's first real downpour of the season yesterday.

for the Mt. Hermon ski site at had piled up to a height of over 30 Neveh Ativ, which is to open today for the first time this season cms at the peak of the mountain - a month later than usual. and more than 10 cms on the

lower slopes. Staffers said this is still insufficient for proper skiing. but hoped this would be the start of a cold, wet winter.

Reform Movement discusses same-sex marriages

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Reform rabbis began deliberations yesterday on formalizing unions between members of the same sex. Rabbi Yoram Mazor, executive

secretary of the Council of Progressive Rabbis in Israel, said

yesterday that the group had undertaken to investigate the issue at the request of its American counterpart, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, The American group is due to discuss the issue at its annual conference in May. Prof. Uzi Even, a spokesman for gay rights, spoke before the CPRI had requested it be raised.

yesterday in what Mazor said was to allow its members to conduct any son of ceremony formalizing unions a very preliminary discussion. Mazor added that the issue is between members of the same sex, under discussion because it is a but it also has supported giving full matter of public interest and rights to partners in such unions. because homosexual and lesbian Mazor said that ooly in the rabbis in the Reform Movement Reform Movement could homosexual and lesbian rabbis openly In the past, the CPRI has refused express their sexuality.

Two killed on roads in the North

By DAYID RUDGE

Two people were killed and two others injured in separate road accidents during stormy weather in the North yesterday.

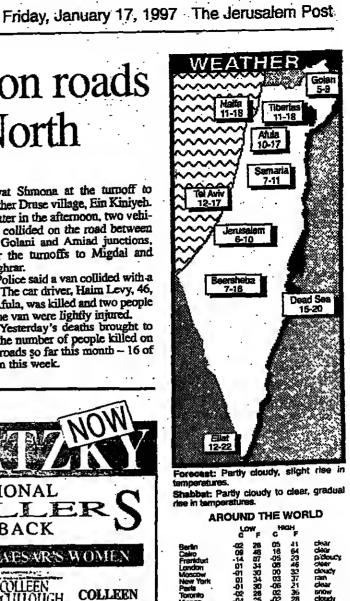
The first occurred around 6 a.m., when a mini-bus drove off a road in the Golan Heights and plunged over a cliff, killing the driver, who was alone.

He was identified as Alsaiyad Ahmed Hussam, 22, of Masa'ada village. The accident occurred on the road from Masa'ada towards

Kiryat Shmona at the turnoff to another Druse village, Ein Kiniyeh. Later in the afternoon, two vehicles collided on the road between the Golani and Amiad junctions, near the turnoffs to Migdal and Maghrar.

Police said a van collided with a car. The car driver, Haim Levy, 46, of Afula, was killed and two people in the van were lightly injured. Yesterday's deaths brought to

32 the number of people killed on the roads so far this month - 16 of them this week.

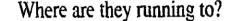


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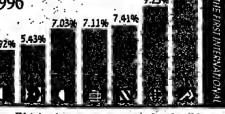
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- E "The First International Bank leads in Provident Fund performance. In a Five-year comparison of provident funds managed by the banks, the First International's funds showed a weighted cumulative of 11.63 % ... " Yediot Ahronot, Daily Newspaper, December 29, 1996
- E A December 1996 comparison by Kranot Meida Zahav (fund rating company), concluded that the First International Bank topped the industry in provident fund yields for the past five years.



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